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WASHINGTON:

THE STATE AND ITS EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

BY HAROLD L. HODGKINSON

INSTITUTE FOR EDUCATIONAL LEADERSHIP, INC. / CENTER FOR DEMOGRAPHIC POLICY

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However, errors of fact or interpretation remain the responsibility of the author.

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Note on the cover:

Our cover indicates the dominance of the western half of the state in a population sense. (Also, Portland is becoming the second largest metropolitan area in Washington, as it continues to move north.) Over eighty percent of the Washington population live in the state's nine metro areas. County views of metro areas can be misleading, however—Bellingham does *not* extend throughout Whatcom County, as the map would suggest. Population "maps" can be very useful for people who are looking for the human equivalent to rivers and mountains, including planners, marketers and even educators!

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PREFACE

The following pages include a brief demographic analysis of the background to educational programs in the state of Washington. I am grateful that Harold Hodgkinson has turned his perceptive eye toward our corner of the United States.

While we have much to cherish and to be proud of in Washington, in our own way, we share the problems that beset other parts of the nation. Especially critical are those problems that make it difficult for children to learn and to prosper as adults. As we continue to look with hope toward the future, programs designed to overcome poverty and to communicate past the dissonances caused by great cultural diversity will emerge as major needs for our education system.

Those who read this analysis carefully cannot fail to note the subtle challenge that it contains—a state that is relatively well educated and more affluent should be able to cope with its educational problems, if only it has the will to do so.

Judith A. Billings

Judith A. Billings
Superintendent of Public Instruction
State of Washington

WASHINGTON—THE STATE AND ITS EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

INTRODUCTION

All states have their paradoxes, but Washington has more than its share. On a clear day, its major city, Seattle, looks like a freshly washed pearl just taken from the ocean. Yet this city has formidable rates of alcoholism and suicide, and a large gay community with a major increase in gonorrhea cases during 1989, suggesting an even higher AIDS potential in the future. The lush green western third of the state (often called ecotopia by analysts like Joel Garreau) contains some of the nation's most active environmentalists, while the easternmost third is composed mostly of small town conservatives who would fit nicely in the Heartland. While its southern neighbor, Oregon, has engaged in the most careful urban planning and development, Washington seems to have a fair amount of urban sprawl, especially hotels and office space.

One thing that is not debatable is the tradition of major influence on national politics through leaders like Warren Magnuson, Henry Jackson and, more recently, Tom Foley. The legacy of the Magnuson years still reflects on the fortune of the University of Washington and its excellent research facilities, particularly in health, sciences and engineering—always in the top ten institutions in terms of federal research dollars. The *Chronicle of Higher Education* for November 29, 1989, listed the University of Washington as sixth in the nation in federal funds for research and development with a total of $160 million, ahead of Harvard, Yale, Columbia and Berkeley. However, when research funds from *all* sources are included, University of Washington drops to 13th, suggesting the strong federal and congressional influence.

(When this author came to Washington, D.C. to direct the National Institute of Education, the Appropriations Committee Chairman was Senator Magnuson. I was immediately advised to get to know Harley Dirks, one of Magnuson's chief aides, and rumored to be the author of much of the health legislation passed during the Magnuson years.) Jackson, of course, was the founder of much of the environmental legislation that preserved much of the state and national wilderness areas. Speaker Foley may not have the power of the other two, but his influence as "House traffic cop" knows few bounds.

The state's economy has been dominated by the Boeing Company, world leader in civilian aircraft and in military weapons systems. Unfortunately, both of these are highly irregular markets to say the least, and with the likely decline in military budgets due to the 1989 revolutions in Eastern Europe and shifting postures around NATO, the mercurial Washington economy may continue to bounce around in the nineties. The problem with manufacturing as the dominant economic sector of a state concerns the dependency of the jobs that are "upstream and downstream" from the manufacturing plants. Insurance, parking services, food services—all are dependent on the major manufacturer who buys their service. For every Boeing job (and according to Data Resources, Inc. (DRI) there are 91,000), between four and six other jobs are generated. Thus, if Boeing declines by one job, the state could lose four to six more. The good news is that the percentage of the state's work force that is employed by Boeing is declining, due to small business starts and job expansion in other business areas. Some data sources state that the percentage of the Washington work force working for Boeing has dropped from 20 to 10 percent, but this may be a tad optimistic.

Although the job total (about 3,700) is small in comparison, Weyerhaeuser has proved to be a world leader in tree farming and plant genetics, and has developed very effective international export strategies. They represent a formidable asset for Washington in the next decade, but do not increase the diversity of the state's economy enough to ride through the next wave of economic turbulence. Microsoft also diversifies the state's economy but employs only about 1,500 people, according to DRI. But with the addition of Egghead Discount Software and several other companies, a "critical mass" of software producers could easily develop in Washington.

With this as a little background, let's look at the state's major demographic characteristics shown in the demographic profile of Washington.

WASHINGTON PROFILE

		Rank	United States
1988 Population	4,619,000	19th	245,807,000
Population Increase, 1980-88	+11.8%	15th	+8.5%
Population Projection (2000)	4,991,000	18th	267,747,000
Percent of the Population:			
Over Age 65 (1987)	11.8%	31st	12.3%
Living in Metro Areas (1987)	81.2%	13th	76.9%
Black Population (1988)	113,000	N.A.	30,165,000
Hispanic Population (1985)	115,800	N.A.	15,698,900*
Birth Rate (per 1,000 population, 1986)	15.6	21st	15.6
Percent to Teenage Mothers	10.4%	32nd	12.6%
Percent to Unmarried Women	9.8%	27th	23.4%
Infant Deaths (per 1,000 births, 1986)	9.8	28th	10.4
Non-Federal Doctors (per 100,000 population, 1986)	202	13th	205
Hospital Beds (per 100,000 population, 1986)	372	48th	532
Average Daily Room Charge (1986)	$281	10th	$253
Percent Change in Crime Rate (1985-87)	+7.5%	18th	+6.5%
Violent Crime Rate (per 100,000 population, 1987)	439	23rd	609
Forcible Rape (per 100,000 population, 1986)	53.4	5th	37.5
Burglaries (per 100,000 population, 1986)	1,861	5th	1,345
Larceny Thefts (per 100,000 population, 1986)	4,267	3rd	3,010
Divorces (per 1,000 population, 1986)	5.8	11th	4.8
Percent of the Population Who Voted in 1988 Presidential Election	54.6%	19th	50.2%
Social Security Payees (as a percent of the 1987 population)	14.8%	35th	15.3%
AFDC Recipients** (as a percent of the 1987 population)	5.8%	20th	6.2%
Per Capita Income (1987)	$15,599	16th	$15,481
Bank Deposits Per Capita (1987)	$5,642	45th	$8,134
Federal Defense Funds (Total)	$5.7 Billion	12th	$215 Bil.
Gross State Product (1986)	$77.6 Billion	16th	
Residential Energy Use (1985)	90M.BTU/cap	1st	63M
Export-related Manufacturing (as a percent of all manufacturing)	17.2%	2nd	11.4%
Percent Change in Housing Starts (1985-87)	+19.5%	5th	−10.2%
Percent Change in Existing Home Sales (1985-87)	−13.8%	50th	−0.3%

*The number of Hispanics in the U.S. in 1988 according to the Census Bureau was 20,383,000.
**Includes also Federal Supplemental Security Income.
Source: U.S. Census Bureau, *Statistical Abstracts of the United States, 1989* and *North Carolina State Data Center, State Rankings*, 1989.

The picture we can paint from these numbers is of a fairly large and diverse state, whose population is expanding slightly more rapidly than the nation as a whole, but whose *rate* of growth is manageable. (Nonwhite populations are increasing more rapidly than whites, and certain areas of the state, especially the western third, are getting most of the increase and most of the diversity. Washington does have an unusual mix of people, with Asian, Hispanic and black at four percent of the population each, and American Indians about two percent, at least in terms of the state's *youth* population. About 14 percent of the youth are nonwhite and about eight percent of the adult population.) Although elderly populations are increasing the most rapidly in the nation, that is not a current issue in Washington, as their percentage of persons over the age of 65 is below the national average.

Birth rates are at the national average. Births to teenage and unmarried mothers, as well as infant deaths, are below the national average, suggesting a healthy situation for youth. However, the medical facilities suggest some problems, with enough doctors but a major shortage of hospital beds and very expensive daily hospital rates.

While crime rates are increasing faster than the nation, violent crime, and particularly murder, are below the country's rates. However, the state ranks *seventh* in all types of crime, and *fifth* in forcible rapes per 100,000 population in 1986! The state is also fifth in burglaries and third in larceny thefts in 1986, while robbery rates were 22nd. While these numbers can be interpreted in many ways, one possibility is that many people in Washington are very unhappy and have no reasonable way of getting rid of these feelings, leaving them to lash out at others, especially those who cannot defend themselves—women in the case of rape, and those not at home in terms of burglary. To support that notion, Washington was ranked 13th in suicides in 1985. Indeed, the suicide rates are almost unbelievably high in states thought to be the most beautiful in terms of scenery! (See Table 1 below.)

Except for the southeast, all regions of the nation are represented. With the possible exception of Oklahoma, the rest are all places of outstanding natural beauty—oceans, lovely mountains, etc. Why, when living in the "Garden of Eden," do so many people kill themselves? American Indians are a small part of the answer, with a suicide rate three times the national average. Low densities explain some of it, except for Florida and California (both states have sparsely populated areas, but that's not where suicides peak). Just as suicides rise at holiday times, it may be that if you live in a state in which people are *supposed* to be deliriously happy, and you're not, there would be a tendency to take your own life. While divorce is not a crime, divorce rates were included to point out that even people's *marriages* are not happy in Washington. Washington ranks 14th in the number of divorces. The real answer to the suicide question is that no one knows—yet.

Table 1
Suicides Per 100,000 Population, 1985

Rank	State
1.	Wyoming
2.	Nevada
3.	Colorado
4.	Arizona, Montana, New Mexico (three-way tie)
7.	Florida
8.	Oregon
9.	Oklahoma
10.	California
11.	Vermont, Maine (tie)
13.	Washington, Alaska (tie)

Source: North Carolina State Data Center, *State Ranks, 1989*.

Indeed, in terms of pay and disposable income, most Washingtonians are pretty well off, even with a high unemployment rate in most years. Additional growth can be expected in export-related manufacturing in the future, which may be the life saver in the state's economy if defense funds begin to slide.

Voter participation, while above the national average, is not what one would expect from one of the most college-educated populations in the nation. A smaller percentage of people are in federal support programs, from Aid to Families With Dependent Children (AFDC) to Social Security, than the nation as a whole. Indeed, in terms of pay and disposable income, most Washingtonians are pretty well off, even with a high unemployment rate in most years. Additional growth can be expected in export-related manufacturing in the future, which may be the life saver in the state's economy if defense funds begin to slide. Agriculture is basically healthy, and in the orchard industries, we can expect an increase in the desire for "perfect fruit," given the recent changes in America's food preferences. The Alar deterrant to apple sales should be eliminated by the 1990 or 1991 seasons. The desire for "perfect" ice cream and cookies, while dominated by Yuppies who are often not doing well economically but have sophisticated tastes and are in "paté poverty," is also held by others, and orchard products may be added to the list, making lots of money for customized agriculture. However, putting gobs of money in the *bank* seems not to be the style in Washington, either for families or corporations.

The lack of existing home sales plus a major increase in housing starts means that new areas are being populated rapidly—a good index of the growth of new suburban areas. Whether these new areas will be annexed to existing townships or will become new economic and political entities will be a major question for the decade. Before looking at educational issues, let's have a quick look at Washington's major city.

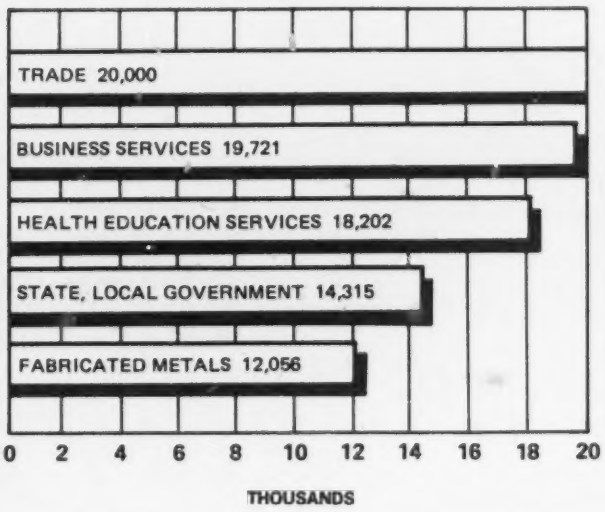
SEATTLE—GATEWAY TO THE PACIFIC RIM

Seattle, the only area in Washington to be among the largest 100 metropolitan areas in the nation, has been blessed with a splendid deep water port, while Puget Sound represents one of the prime water recreation areas in the west as well. Forty percent of the state's population lives there, and *50* percent of the jobs are there. In that, banking, finance and government services tend to follow jobs, Seattle is also the center of activities in those areas. As the primary trade and distribution center for the Pacific Northwest, transportation and warehousing are important parts of the Seattle economy. Interstates 5 and 90 provide excellent road service in all directions, (except westward, which would run you into the ocean) and the Sea-Tac airport plus extensive rail capacity add to the transportation mix.

Both counties have gained population during the decade, with King County at about 1,400,000 and Snohomish County at about 450,000. It is expected that population gains will continue in both counties for the next several years. It is the 24th largest metro area in the nation, with about 1.9 million residents.

Although Seattle is dependent on Boeing (91,000 jobs there at present) the dependency is declining due to the increasing diversification of the Seattle economy and work force in the directions already stated—trade, services, finance and government. Although the 1982-83 recession had a greater impact on Seattle than on the nation as a whole, the rebound since then in Seattle has been proportionately strong. Growth in the number of jobs has averaged 3.9 percent a year from 1977-87, and has increased to 4.6 percent after 1983. Jobs seem to be growing a little faster than the population. For example, the "winners" in terms of additional jobs in the Seattle economy are shown in Figure 1 below.

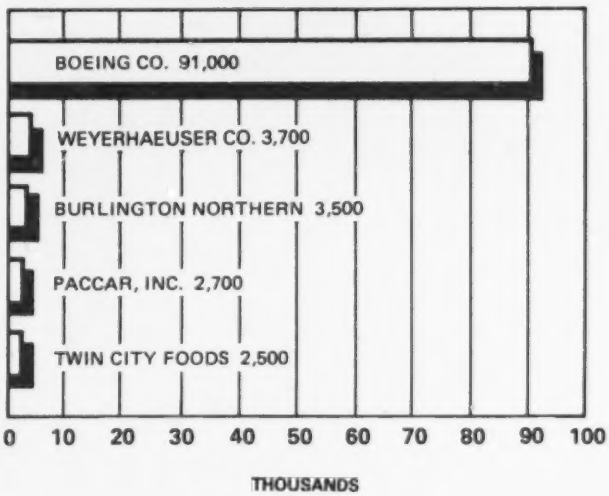
Figure 1
Job Growth "Winners" 1983-1987


TRADE 20,000
BUSINESS SERVICES 19,721
HEALTH EDUCATION SERVICES 18,202
STATE, LOCAL GOVERNMENT 14,315
FABRICATED METALS 12,056
0 2 4 6 8 10 12 14 16 18 20
THOUSANDS

Source: Data Resources, Inc., *Trinet*, 1989.

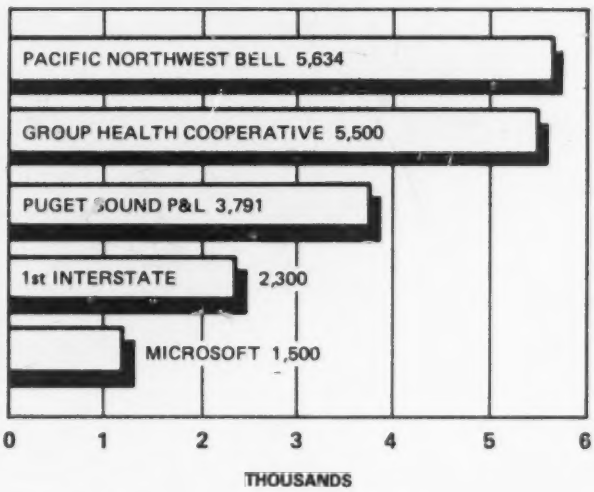
To get an overall sense of the job structure, let's look at Seattle's chief manufacturers and service providers. As you do, keep in mind that with the (major) exception of Boeing, the largest employers are in services, not manufacturing (see Figures 2 and 3).

Figure 2
Seattle's Major Manufacturers
1989 Jobs


BOEING CO. 91,000
WEYERHAEUSER CO. 3,700
BURLINGTON NORTHERN 3,500
PACCAR, INC. 2,700
TWIN CITY FOODS 2,500
0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100
THOUSANDS

Source: Data Resources, Inc., *EstiMarket*, 1989.

Figure 3
Seattle's Major Service Industries
1989 Jobs



Source: Data Resources, Inc., *EstiMarket*, 1989.

What we *cannot* determine from the data presented above is the average wage of these jobs—a casual guess is that Seattle's leading manufacturers are paying as much as a third more than the major service industries, across the board. Another way of thinking about it is that the fastest growing part of the Seattle economy is *business services sold to other businesses*. This is where the domination of Boeing gets extreme—in the four jobs generated by each Boeing hire. Many of these are subcontractor jobs in instruments, machinery, etc., but even more are in business services, from real estate to auditing. Boeing's backlog of orders for commercial aircraft represent future stability, even with some present and future strike issues in the work force. Given the likely uncertainty of defense budgets in the coming years, defense *manufacturing* is the most vulnerable part of military expenditures. Boeing has carefully reduced its profile in certain defense areas already, partly through court actions.

One of Seattle's major assets in the future is its extraordinarily well-educated labor force. Of the top 100 metros, Seattle ranks *98th* in percentage of workers who are high school dropouts, and *ninth* in workers who have attended college. The combination of unionized high-wage manufacturing jobs with very skilled non-manufacturing jobs has produced a very large "top end" to the wage levels in the metro area. Because of this youngish, well-educated population, the Seattle consumer market is younger with fewer children, more affluent and more homogeneous than the typical top 100 metros. It ranks *18th* of the top 100 metros in discretionary income, creating a broad demand for a variety of products and services, thereby encouraging small business starts and an increasingly diverse economy.

While the typical top 100 metro is 80 percent white, Seattle's population is 90 percent white. While the typical metro is 14 percent black, Seattle is 3.6 percent black. It is at the metro average for "other" races (6 percent), including Asians, Hispanics and American Indians. In addition, Seattle ranks *92nd* of the top 100 in the percentage of households with children under age 18. While Seattle is an expensive place to live in terms of health care and transportation costs, it is fairly cheap in housing and energy costs, due to heavy use of hydroelectric generation.

Overall, Seattle's strengths are as a trade and distribution center, with excellent location for Canadian and Asiatic trade expansions. Diversity in the "high end" of the services, a well-educated population and work force, low housing and utilities costs and easy access to recreation all increase the quality of life. Its weaknesses are equally apparent—the continuing dependence on Boeing, particularly for the jobs that are Boeing-dependent even though Boeing doesn't pay their salaries, its high cost for health care and transportation, and the potential of a major increase in industrial energy costs due to the earlier bond default of the state's public power agency and the unanticipated high costs of nuclear power development. On balance, this is a very favorable portrait of a metro area with far more positives than negatives.

We could easily develop profiles of other cities in Washington, but because none of them are in the top 100 category, comparative data for evaluation purposes are virtually non-existent. Because the Seattle metro area represents about half the state's people and jobs, the focus on this one metro seems reasonable in thinking about the state's future. One has to remember that the eastern half of the state is as night to day in comparison with Seattle. Having a sense of what the state is like, we can now look more directly at the state's educational system.

WASHINGTON'S EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

As of 1988-89, there were 296 operating public school districts in Washington, enrolling 790,459 students. There are a number of large school districts (46.7 percent of pupils are enrolled in the 22 largest districts of over 10,000 students each, while 84 percent of the students are in the 89 districts that have more than 2,000 each). There are also a fairly large number of very small districts (69 districts enroll fewer than 200 students each). About a quarter of the students are in the 20 counties in "eastern Washington," while three quarters are in the 19 counties of "western Washington."

A well developed system of nine educational service districts tends to equalize programs and services across the state, providing things that districts could not provide for themselves, such as handicapped education, driver education, pupil transportation, data processing, vocational education, instructional materials, maintenance, etc. Educational service units are becoming a major force in education, particularly in sparsely populated areas in which additional consolidation is impossible due to the distances involved. Also, they can bring efficiency to small districts through volume purchasing and shared data processing.

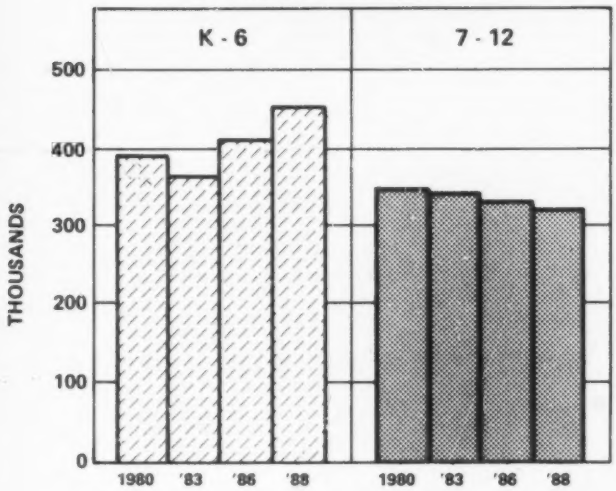
Overall enrollments have increased since 1983 (see Table 4 below), the year when the earlier decline was reversed. An interesting fact is that secondary enrollments were still declining in 1988 when elementary enrollments had been increasing since 1983 (see Figure 4).

Table 4
Public School Enrollment
Selected Years

1980	756,540
1983	736,094
1986	761,720
1988	790,000

Source: *Education in Washington*, 1988.

Figure 4
Elementary and Secondary Public School Enrollments Selected Years



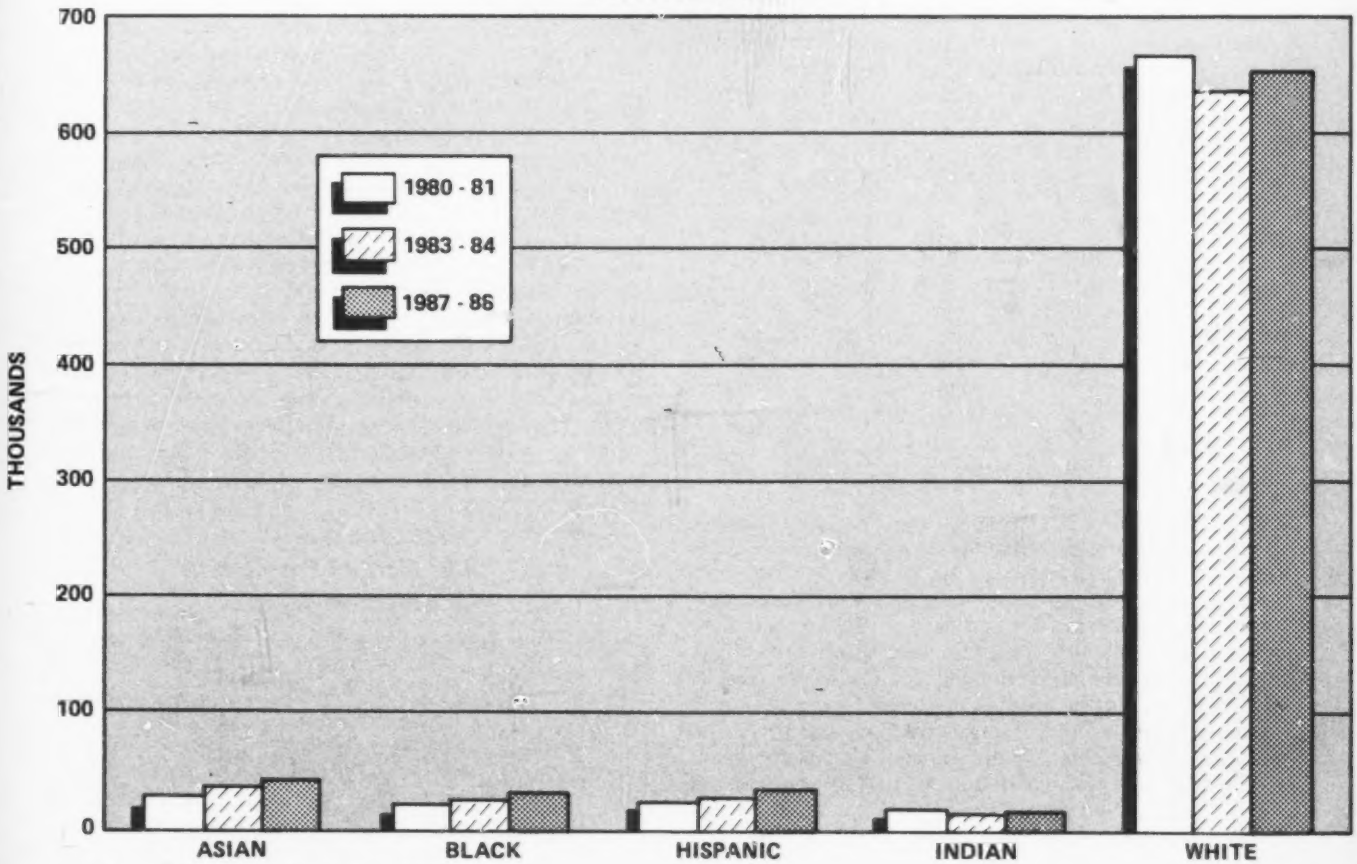
Source: *Education in Washington*, 1988.

By 1988, a number of the 1983-88 K-6 enrollment increases should have worked their way through the educational pipeline to secondary school, causing enrollments there to stabilize or increase. Yet secondary enrollments were still dropping in 1988. The state also provides a much better breakdown on students' ethnic background than that provided by federal sources (see Figure 5).

While 30 percent of the nation's students were nonwhite in 1988, 17 percent of Washington's students were. Asian, black and Hispanic enrollments showed steady growth, while American Indian and white enrollments dipped from 1980-84, then turned around. Additional data from the Education Secretary's "Wall Chart" for 1989 is shown in Table 5.

Between 1990 and 2010, the under 18 year-old population of the state is predicted to decline from 1,173,000 to 1,098,000, about a six percent drop. The minority percentage will increase to 19.5 percent in 2010, when the nation's youth will be 38.2 percent nonwhite, according to *American Demographics*, May, 1989. The increase in the number of children in poverty and children in single parent households go together, even though the percentage in poverty is low by national standards. While 80

Figure 5
Public School Enrollment by Race Selected Years



Source: *Education in Washington*, 1988.

Table 5
Selected Data on Washington's Children and Educational System

		Rank	U.S.
Percent Handicapped Children	9.5%	(42nd)	11.1%
Percent Children Age 5-17 In Poverty	10.3%	(44th)	
Teacher's Salary (1988)	$28,217	(16th)	$22,954
Per Capita Income (1987)	$15,599*	(16th)	$15,481
Per Pupil Expenditures (1987)	$3,964	(20th)	$4,209
Student-Faculty Ratio	20.2	(46th)	17.6
Graduation Rate	77.8%	(17th)	71.1%
Seniors with Advanced Placement Courses (1988)	8.6%	(23rd)	10.6%
Sources of Funding (1987):			
Local	20.2%		
State	74.1%		
Federal	5.7%		
Children in Single-parent Homes:			
1980	242,000		14,069,000
1987	298,000		15,859,000
Number of Children (0–18 years) in Poverty:			
1980	177,000		11,214,000
1987	255,000		13,714,000

*1988 per capita income is $16,473, according to U.S. Census Bureau.
Source: U.S. Department of Education, Secretary's Office, *State Educational Performance Chart*, 1989, and Population Reference Bureau, *General Demographics and Social Characteristics of State Populations*, 1988.

percent of Washington's population lives in the state's nine metropolitan areas, rural poverty is not unknown, especially in the eastern half of the state.

The percentage of local tax funds in the state's education budget is extraordinarily small (20 percent compared to the national average of 43.8 percent) suggesting a high degree of state involvement in policy, based on the "Golden Rule"—whoever has the gold makes the rule. In addition, class sizes in Washington are very high indeed compared with the nation, although in 1982 they were even larger. (The more students are alike, the more a state can get away with larger class sizes, as is the case in Utah. However, in California, which now has the largest classes and a great deal of student diversity, the result is very low performance. Washington is much more like Utah than California in this regard, but the class size issue probably needs some reassessment.)

Because Washington has its own test for seniors, neither SAT nor ACT data are available for national achievement comparisons. However, the Metropolitan Achievement Test data for fourth, eighth and tenth grades (reported with a very useful technique known as "box and whisker") suggest that across the board, Washington students do as well or better than the nation, with the consistent exception of spelling.

While ranking 17th in school dropouts is good compared to the (miserable) national average of 30 percent, the state has such a highly educated adult population, relatively low levels of youth in poverty and a rather homogenous population campared to the nation, you would expect a rate comparable to Minnesota's, which leads the nation in the percentage of students who graduate from high school. (Only nine percent of Minnesota's students drop out, while 22.2 percent drop out in Washington state.) Generally, the higher the percentage of college-educated adults, the better students do in school and the more they tend to graduate from high school and go on to college. Some studies have reported that having college-educated parents predicts educational achievement a little better than SAT scores. For some reason, Washington's well educated adults seem not to motivate their children toward high school graduation.

Highly segregated minority populations usually drop out of school in large numbers, but Gary Orfield's data on Seattle schools suggests a high degree of integration for both black and Hispanic students. Only 4.5 percent of Seattle's black students were in 90 to 100 percent non-white schools in 1987. The typical black student attended a school that was 43 percent white, the average Hispanic student attended a school that was 47 percent white in 1987. (In Chicago, the typical black attends a school which is 6 percent white.) This relatively integrated pool should mean a high level of minority completion of high school. That cannot be checked out, but it does appear that Washington has more dropouts than would be predicted from the background data.

HIGHER EDUCATION IN WASHINGTON STATE

Before closing out our discussion, a brief look at the higher education system in Washington would be useful. The system is typical of western states, being overwhelmingly public in terms of total students enrolled as is shown in Table 6. These students spread out across 54 institutions of higher education and 166 vocational institutes in the state.

Table 6

Enrollment in Higher Education Institutions, 1988

Type	Students
Public 4-year Institutions	77,722
Public 2-year Institutions	136,485
Private 4-year Institutions	30,258
Private 2-year Institutions	1,407
Total Enrollment	245,872

Number of Higher Education Institutions by Type

Type	Number
Public 4-year	6
Public 2-year	27
Private 4-year	19
Private 2-year	2
Vocational Institutions	166

Source: Almanac, *Chronicle of Higher Education*. September 6, 1989.

The system is quite diversified—the universities in the state are well regarded (particularly in terms of federal research dollars for the University of Washington, but the others also have distinctions of importance) while the 27 community colleges carry the lion's share of the head count, and the private four-year institutions are actually awarding about 25 percent of the baccalaureate degrees in the state. While there is a Higher Education Coordinating Board for the four-year public institutions, each has a separate governing board as well. Similarly, the State Board of Community Colleges has overall jurisdiction of those institutions, but each also has its own governing board. (Many western states seem to prefer a large number of governing bodies, to put it mildly.) It is unfortunate that the impact of the 166 vocational institutions is seldom discussed in Washington, apparently on the assumption that they are not "part of the system."

Also a western tradition is the fact that 92 percent of all Washington residents who attend college do so in their home state. The state is currently providing about $719 million for operating expenses, up about 14 percent over the last two years, less than the national average. However, in 1988 the state legislature approved a plan to build five new branch campuses in the next 20 years, to be connected with either the University of Washington or Washington State, even though the state's overall growth rate would make one wonder about such a decision. However, $46 million was also appropriated to start planning and to purchase land, indicating a major commitment in this area. (Part of the goal is to diversify the economy by allowing workers in areas not now serviced by higher education to develop new skills outside of those needed in lumber and aerospace.) It seems fair to say that Governor Gardner, as well as the state's business community, has been interested in improving the state's economy by tuning up its educational system.

One problem concerns the low percentage of minority students in Washington's higher education system, even though intensive efforts are made to increase their numbers. Access for females seems open enough (54 percent of all students are women) but we have no way of knowing what the odds are for minority women.

Overall, higher education in Washington seems to be fashioned from the motivations of excellence, and more recently, access to the system at some point for all adult citizens of the state. Although there are many questions to be raised about execution, there could be few quarrels about the commitments. It is unfortunate that higher education leaders do not seem to always comprehend that they can be no better than Washington's public schools.

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CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

We have described Washington as a natural jewel, glistening in its Seattle environment, and much more "Heartland"-like, yet still beautiful, on the eastern half. Yet the *people* who reside in all this beauty tend to commit suicide, to rob and to rape far more often than the national average. Does the gorgeous environment attract unhappy people? Or do people become unhappy living in such a place, knowing that they are *supposed* to be happy? No one will ever know with certainty, but it seems that more than the "rainy season" is involved.

The economy is heavily influenced by two factors: one, the remarkable political success of the Jackson-Magnuson era, in getting funds for the state, especially in health research funds; two, the domination of the economy by Boeing. While diversification has continued into fields like business services and software, the dependency remains large. What follows is a collection of some problems and recommended courses of action.

1. The dependence on Boeing is strong, but weakening. Further growth of new businesses of a variety of sorts will help reduce this dependency, not by reducing Boeing, but by increasing the other sectors of the economy. Additional needs for venture capital, and for expertise in the techniques of starting small businesses, will go along with this push.

2. The Washington public schools seem to operate in a rather well-coordinated system. The same can be said for the state's higher education system. But between the two systems there seems to be a very wide highway that few people travel. There exists a need for some state efforts to increase the coordination between these two systems—neither can do well without the other. No one benefits by having a youngster drop out of a Washington high school—in fact, there is an 80 percent chance that that dropout could become a prisoner, absorbing $24,000 in state and federal funds each year.

3. Although the total minority school population is a smaller percentage than the national average, it is unusual in that Asians, blacks, Hispanics and American Indians are represented in almost equal numbers. But they total only 17 percent, while in the nation's minority youth are about 30 percent. Washington has great diversity in the *range* of cultures represented, but no minority group has the numbers to be taken very seriously politically.

4. Because the percentage of adults who have attended college is so great, one would naturally assume that the dropout rate from Washington's schools would be proportionately low. Yet, that is not the case. Efforts to reduce the dropout rate might be very successful, given the percentage of adults who have benefited from higher education in the state. An increasing number of three-year-old children in Washington are eligible for Head Start-like programs, but there is no program available for many of them. A statewide commitment to ensure that every child arrives at the kindergarten door (1) in good physical health, (2) from a stable and supportive home environment, and (3) feeling good enough about their potential future so that they will try their best in school, would pay off in a variety of ways in improving the lives of all Washingtonians over the next 40 years.

WASHINGTON—
SUMMARY OF MAJOR POINTS

1. This is a "high contrast" state, with beautiful scenery, well educated people, and some of the highest rape, larceny and suicide rates in the nation. Although every state has contrasts built in, the eastern half of Washington has precious little in common with the population nestled along the coast. The question of why there is so much grief in such a Nirvana is worthy of action. (The weather does not answer the question.)
2. The state's economy, long dominated by the Boeing Company, is now diversifying in a very healthy way, although Boeing remains a very large percentage of the state's worker payroll. The Washington work force is very well-educated by national standards, with almost 40 percent of the adults in the Seattle metro area having had some college.
3. The state's ethnic mix, at least among its youth, is unusual—about equal numbers of blacks, Hispanics, American Indians and Asians. (Total minority youth population in Washington is about 17 percent, compared to 30 percent for the United States.) Washington's future will be increasingly dependent on the ability of the political system to support minority development programs for youth, as this group represents the only certain increase in the state population in the future.
4. The state's location enhances its role in trade with Canada and with the Pacific Rim nations. Both are likely to be major advantages in the future. Therefore, for pragmatic reasons, the state's educational resources should focus on a variety of transnational issues and teaching examples, given that each of the four major sources of diversity are present in Washington's schools, in about equal numbers.
5. The contrast between eastern Washington and the western half of the state is vast, in terms of density, way of life, businesses and jobs, access to higher education, income and most other things. For this reason, it is difficult for Washington to "get its act together."

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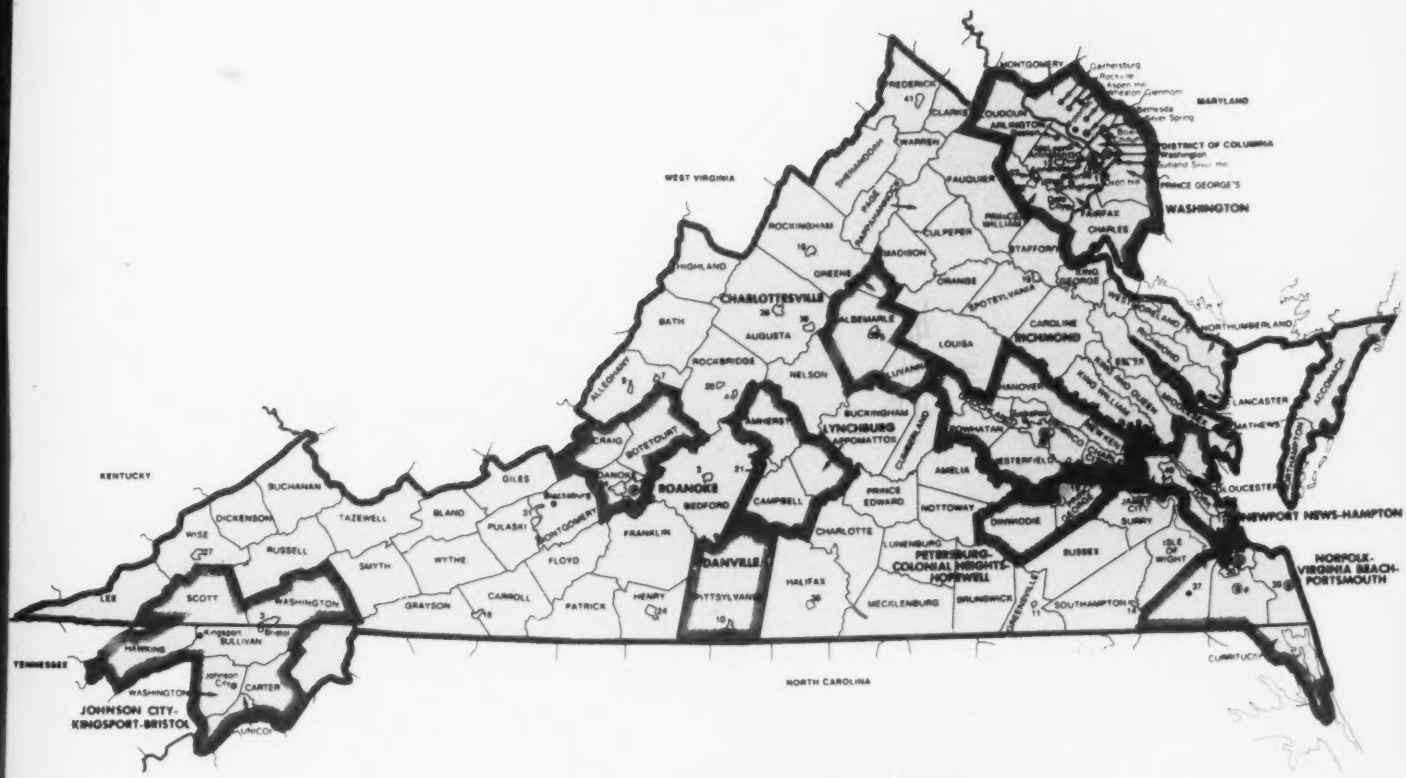
VIRGINIA:



THE STATE AND ITS EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

BY HAROLD L. HODGKINSON

INSTITUTE FOR EDUCATIONAL LEADERSHIP, INC. / CENTER FOR DEMOGRAPHIC POLICY

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

While many people have participated in the development of this report, special thanks must be given to President James McComas of Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University for seeing the utility of this report and for making it possible. Also, James R. Montgomery, Director of Institutional Research and Planning Analysis at the University was very helpful in facilitating the process and in providing much information that was useful in developing the study.

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I also need to thank many professional colleagues for their insights into the nature of Virginia's complex education and demographics. However, the selection of information and its interpretation remain the responsibility of the author.

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COVER NOTE:

This "people map" of Virginia shows some interesting things. First, there are no "square" counties in Virginia, as is characteristic of Appalachian states. (Iowa, on the other hand, has almost nothing but square counties.) Second, Virginia's metro areas overlap into Washington, D.C., Maryland, North Carolina and Tennessee, making interstate communication a necessity. Also the "Boswash" corridor is moving deeper into Virginia, soon to include both Fredericksburg and Richmond. The "people maps" are increasingly used by planners, marketers of goods and services, and even educators!

VIRGINIA:
THE STATE AND ITS EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

HAROLD L. HODGKINSON
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VIRGINIA: THE STATE AND ITS EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

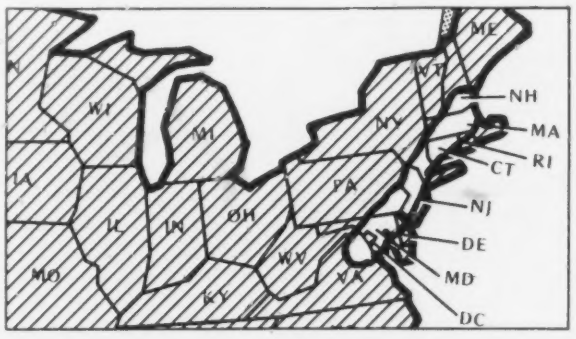
Probably the most famous statement about Virginia came from deToqueville who said, during the 1830s, that there were two kinds of Americans—"Yankees and Virginians." "The Yankees were moving west," he said, "while the Virginians were moving south." That little comment explains a great deal of the 160 years of history that followed. We can also begin to understand why the aristocratic and hierarchical tradition of old Virginia stayed on so long, and why even today the state is an extension of its past. While it was the state of Thomas Jefferson, George Washington, Patrick Henry, James Madison and George Mason, the most important vestige was the plantation system of organization. This mentality was seen in a strong reverence for the past, for a very intense kinship system of leadership, for rural poverty on the part of small farmers and slaves, for education as a way of enforcing the aristocracy and for political passivity on the part of those not in the ruling group.

It was only when The New Deal and World War II occurred that Virginia began to turn the corner and rejoin the Union. A remarkable transformation has taken place during the intervening half century—the poll tax, literacy tests and other Jim Crow symbols had all disappeared, along with a rural economy based on cotton and tobacco and a one-party political system. Today's Virginia is the direct result of a dynamic growth pattern, with new people coming to Virginia's urban areas from a wide variety of backgrounds but most with educational and economic achievements that could be contributed to Virginia's growth and prosperity. The state's economy diversified into a number of important areas, including manufacturing as well as the "high end" of the service economy—finance, insurance and real estate. Nowhere can this transformation be seen more clearly than in recent gubernatorial elections—from Charles Robb, a non-native, son-in-law of the notoriously liberal President Lyndon Baines Johnson, one who assiduously courted black voters as well as white, through the almost liberal former Governor Baliles to the election of the first black governor in American history, L. Douglas Wilder.

But many of Virginia's problems are also a result of this tradition. Perhaps most important is the unique tradition of having cities that are independent from the counties in which they reside. Some "cities," like Virginia Beach, Chesapeake and Suffolk are so big and include so much rural land that they seem to be counties, while Arlington and Fairfax counties are so densely urban they would seem to be cities. In addition, there is a strong independence of the parts of Virginia from the whole—the Tidewater area is very isolated from the Piedmont area, and acts that way. As in the plantation period, loyalties are local and it is hard for Virginia to "get its act together."

Even the county map on our cover suggests the important role that terrain plays in the state's politics. But today's Virginia is one of the largest states in terms of population, with a high level of personal income and a high and increasing level of educational attainment. Even Richmond, unlike most other state capitals, has a thriving economy in addition to state government workers. In addition to the Washington D.C. suburbs, much of Virginia benefits from the large number of federal defense contracts awarded in the state. Suburbanization, of both housing and jobs, has been the largest agenda since World War II. And the major eastern population corridor called "Boswash," housing 43 million people, now begins north of Boston in New Hampshire and runs all the way to Richmond (see map below). One sixth of the U.S. population is included in this single area, placing almost half of Virginia in this high density corridor. In the last decade, the traditionally black minority has been supplemented by rapid increases in Hispanic, Asian and more recently

"BOSWASH"



Virginia Profile and State Rank

		Rank
Population, 1988	5,996,000	12th
Population Gain, 1980–1988	+12.1%	13th
Migration, 1980–1986	202,000	7th
Projected Population, 2000	6,877,000	12th
Population Density (persons per square mile)	148	17th
Black Adults, 1988	808,000	11th
Hispanic Adults, 1988	74,000	16th
Persons Over Age 65 (as a percent of total population), 1987	10.6%	42nd
Percent of Persons Living in Metro Areas, 1987	71.7%	20th
Number of Lawyers (per 10,000 population), 1985	2.35	28th
Birth Rate (per 1,000 women), 1986	15.0	30th
Births to Teenage Mothers (as a percent of all births)	12.0%	22nd
Births to Unwed Mothers (as a percent of all births)	22.4%	21st
Infant Deaths (per 1,000 births), 1986	11.1	14th
Doctors (per 100,000 population), 1986	202	13th
Average Daily Hospital Room Charges, 1988	$196	35th
Change in Crime Rate, 1985–1987	+4.8%	29th
Murders (per 100,000 population), 1987	7.8	22nd
Total Prisoners, 1987	13,321	*
Total Prisoners, 1980	8,920	*
Increase in Number of Prisoners, 1980–1987	+67%	*
Workers per Eligibles, 1987	65.3%	12th
Female Labor Force Participation Rate	59%	19th
Increase in Employment, 1980–1987	+24.2%	7th
Percent of Population on Social Security, 1987	13.3%	42nd
Percent of Population on Food Stamps, 1987	5.1%	40th
Gross State Product, 1986	$104 Billion	11th
Change in GSP, 1980–1986	+77%	6th
Increase in Per Capita Income, 1980–1986	+49%	6th
Business Starts, 1987	5,519	11th
Business Failures (per 10,000 population)	74	31st
Hourly Earnings (manufacturing), 1986	$8.84	36th
Number of Housing Permits Issued, 1986	73,500	5th
Change in Number of Home Sales, 1986–1987	-13.3%	49th
Retail Sales Per Capita, 1987	$6,798	16th
Number of Farms, 1987	50,000	18th
Average Farm Size, 1987 (acres)	10	45th
Turkeys Raised, 1987	16.2 million	5th
Amount of Tobacco Grown	76 mill. lbs.	5th
Peanut Products	225,000 lbs.	6th
Total Roads–Street Miles	65,802	32nd
Licensed Drivers (per 1,000 persons) 1986	728	6th
Autos (per 1,000 residents)	663	5th
Vehicle Miles Per Driver	13,137	7th
Workers Using Carpools	25%	3rd

*No ranking for this item.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Statistical Abstract of the United States,1989.*

Middle Eastern people. These populations are locating in many places in Virginia in addition to the Washington suburbs. The Virginia statistical profile on the previous page paints a picture of a complex state.

These numbers form a picture of a large state with a fairly high growth rate during the 1980s, with most of the growth being inmigrants rather than higher fertility of existing residents. These inmigrants have added greatly to the state's diversity. The density indicates areas that are intensely urban and rural—no comparison here with New Jersey's 1,027 people per square mile! (Even Japan has only 1,000 people per square mile.) There is good reason to believe that during the 1990s, population growth will slow down, with some problems created by the over-enthusiastic building of houses and office buildings with no end to constant growth. Certain areas of Virginia are already seeing the kind of slow or no growth initiatives so common in California in 1989. While Virginia has been a one-minority state, increases in Hispanic, Asian and Middle Eastern groups are high. While the over age 65 population is not high, the growth rate in this age category was quite high. Virginia is no longer a rural-dominated state in terms of the urban location of 70 percent of its residents, and although it seems that Virginia is inundated with lawyers, the rate is actually quite low!

It is surprising that in a state with a large young adult population, the birth rate is so low. This is partly due to the large number of singles and households in which both partners work. Even in a state which is in the middle of the range in terms of births, it is amazing to think that one of every five children born in Virginia is born to parents who are not married. No one wants to face this issue. Health care facilities and personnel are numerous and available at fairly low costs throughout most of the state, although delivery of health services is a problem in western Virginia.

Even in a state which is in the middle of the range in terms of births, it is amazing to think that ONE OF EVERY FIVE CHILDREN BORN IN VIRGINIA IS BORN TO PARENTS WHO ARE NOT MARRIED.

While crime rates have increased rather slowly in recent years, prison populations have increased almost ten times as fast. The central problem with the strategy of increasing prisoners and jail cells is that this has almost no impact on the crime rate. Over 80 percent of America's prisoners are high school dropouts, and the states with the highest dropout rates are the states highest in prisoners per 100,000 population. Given the fact that a prisoner costs the taxpayer about $20,000 a year while a college student or Head Start participant costs the taxpayer about $3,000 a year, it is clear that a better strategy would be to lower the crime rate by increasing the percentage of young adults who enter adult life with a high school diploma.

A high percentage of Virginia's adults are in the work force, and as the population increased during the 1980s, jobs were created in a proportional way. In fact, as in southern California, jobs grew somewhat faster than people during the 1980s. There is a smaller percentage of adults who are dependent because of age or poverty than in the nation as a whole.

The state's economic development during the 1980s was spectacular both in Gross State Product and per capita income. Small businesses were started and in a very high number of cases, survived. Venture capital is becoming a key element of Virginia's growth strategy, and the techniques for developing and using it are increasingly available. One of the reasons Virginia is appealing to businesses is the right-to-work tradition and low hourly wages of manufacturing workers. There is also some reason to think that in the next decade, both inmigration and job production will slow somewhat, leaving some rough years for housing and business facilities sales, especially in areas that have become over-optimistically developed.

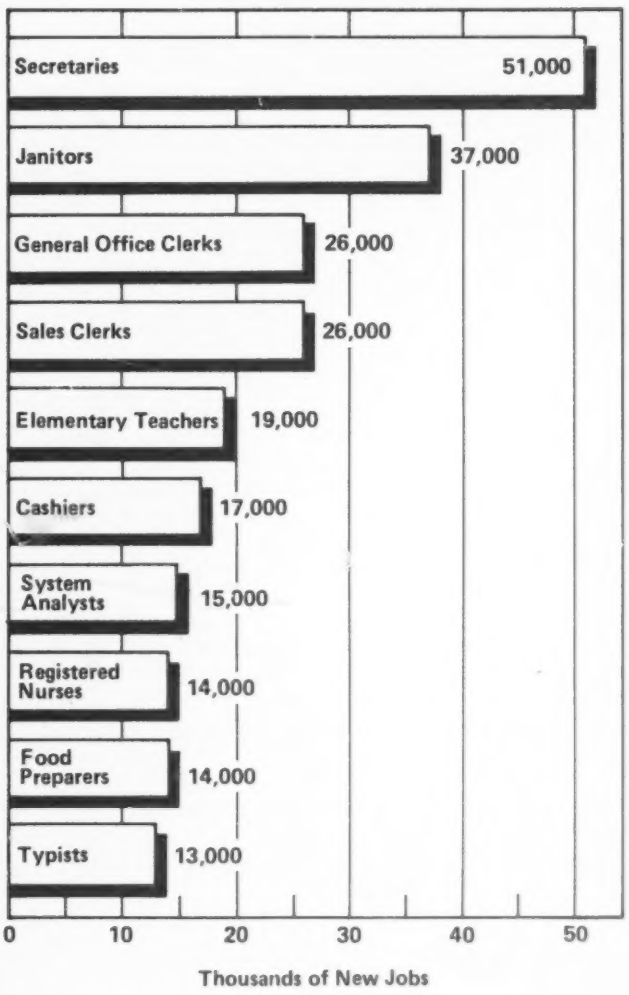
In addition, virtually every state saw its salvation in the attraction of "high-tech" industries during the eighties. The quotation marks are to suggest the immense difficulty in even defining "high tech," given the fact that in Silicon Valley most workers are packers, freight handlers, clerks, cashiers and assemblers. Software developers and programmers are a small part of the total. In Virginia, however, substantial development has occurred in the industry, mostly in the Northern Virginia area but also in central and southeastern Virginia, partly related to the military installations in Norfolk and Virginia Beach and partly to the excellent reputation of Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University in Blacksburg.

The state has had great difficulty in deciding on a showcase "high tech" center for the state, and compared with Silicon Valley, Boston's Route 128 Corridor and the Research Triangle in North Carolina, the skills in venture capital are yet to be fully developed in Virginia. In addition, the competition between George Mason University and Virginia Polytechnic Institute to be the recipient of the high tech center was probably harmful to both. The competition for skilled scientists and engineers will probably intensify during the next decade, and Governor Wilder may wish to rethink the state's strategy in this area.

In addition, the state is a typical "declining middle" state in terms of wages, generating a lot of very well-paying jobs and an even larger number of jobs that pay close to minimum wage and often have no opportunity for advancement for those who perform very well. While attention has been focussed on the "high tech" aspects of job growth, the facts, for the nation and for Virginia, are otherwise. While the percent of growth has been good for the high tech fields, the number of new jobs produced in Virginia has favored the low end of the wage scale. In January, 1990, the Metropolitan Washington Council of Governments released the data shown in Figure 1 for the number of jobs produced in the Washington, D.C. metropolitan area from 1985–2000.

With a couple of exceptions, these jobs represent the low end of the wage scale, with little academic training

Figure 1
Jobs Produced in the Washington, D.C. Metropolitan Area



Source: Metropolitan Washington Council of Governments, January 1990.

required to perform them. There is no reason to think that the Virginia component of this list would vary much from that in the Washington, D.C. metropolitan area.

While agriculture is still a viable part of the Virginia economy, the state is not driven by it as in the past. In addition, there is an incredible number of very small farms in Virginia, which are either tax dodges or suburban farm acres in the process of being converted to real estate. The cash crops of the state are those of typical southern states, although neither tobacco nor cotton is dominant.

Finally, the data make crystal clear that Virginia has a major road problem. The state has a very small number

The state has a very small number of miles of roadway, and a very large number of licensed drivers who are driving an even larger number of cars a very large number of miles each year.

of miles of roadway, and a very large number of licensed drivers who are driving an even larger number of cars a very large number of miles each year. The numbers speak for themselves. Given the state's difficulty in achieving consensus, it is important to remember that more than 20 new road systems have been authorized and approved but not built in Virginia during the last 20 years. Most of these have been in the northern half of the state.

Without some very quick thinking in Richmond, Virginia could have gridlock in the Washington D.C. suburbs that could rival that of Los Angeles. Only the very high use of carpools and public transportation systems like METRO in the Washington area has kept the situation possible. Remember that in registered autos per 1,000 residents, California ranks 21st and Virginia ranks FIFTH! In vehicle miles per licensed driver, California ranks 24th and Virginia ranks SEVENTH! Anyone like the author who has lived in both states can testify to the danger of ignoring the ominous signs that in terms of traffic, Northern Virginia has already become Los Angelized, and that Norfolk and Richmond may not be far behind. The state's ability to attract "high tech" industry will be severely reduced if gridlock and overpriced housing become the norm in Northern Virginia.

Remember that in registered autos per 1,000 residents, California ranks 21st and Virginia ranks FIFTH! In vehicle miles per licensed driver, California ranks 24th and Virginia ranks SEVENTH!

Coming as they did from a highly aristocratic state whose "citizens" were a small, well-educated elite, while most of the workers were slaves or poorly educated whites, Virginia's heroes—Jefferson, Davis, Mason, Henry—would probably be most amazed at today's average Virginia citizen, far more sophisticated and affluent than could be imagined during the Confederacy. The development of a dominant middle class since World War II has transformed Virginia in truly remarkable ways. Essential to this transformation was the development of a public system of education that could provide the resources needed for a modern, diversified economy. Let's now have a look at today's educational system.

EDUCATION IN VIRGINIA

In a state with a large increase in the number of jobs, the availability of workers with skills to do these jobs is

Table 1
Virginia's Educational System

	1983–1984	1988–1989
School Enrollment:		
Elementary	588,476	628,445
Secondary	377,634	353,636
Total	966,110	982,081
Per Pupil expenditure (VA)	$ 2,967	$ 4,744
Per Pupil expenditure (U.S.)	$ 3,173	$ 4,509
Teacher Salary (VA)	$19,867	$29,056
Teacher Salary (U.S.)	$22,019	$29,567
Funding Source:		
Federal	6.6%	4.6%
State	43.0%	34.6%
Local	50.4%	60.7%
Student-Teacher Ratio	17.8 to 1	16.3 to 1
Student-Staff Ratio	9.8 to 1*	8.6 to 1
Per Capita Income, 1987	$16,517	
Rank	11th	
Minority Percentage of School Enrollment, 1986	28%	
American Indian (as a percent of total enrollment)	0%	
Asian	3%	
Hispanic	1%	
Black	24%	
		Rank
Handicapped Enrollment, 1988	10.8%	30th
Poverty Rate, Age 0–15 Years	14.4%	21st
Graduation Rate, 1987	74.0%	25th
Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT) Score, 1988	902	8th (of 22 states)
Advanced Placement of Seniors	16.2%	7th

*For the school year 1982–83.
Source: U.S. Department of Education "Wall Chart," 1989; and National School Board Association, "Education Vital Signs, 1989."

a prime concern. Additionally, Virginia's population is expected to continue to increase, although at a lower rate, during the next decade, making the educational system equally important in the 1990s. The data in Table 1 above gives us something to think about.

Several things are immediately apparent from these numbers. First, although the state's secondary school enrollments declined during the eighties, the increases in elementary school more than made up for these declines, throwing the state into a net gain in total enrollments. The future will mean a steady increase in total enrollments as the growing elementary population works its way through the system. (But for a few more years, some superintendents will be firing high school teachers while they are hiring elementary school teachers.)

Second, during the eighties, Virginia increased its effort to fund schools more than the nation did, moving from behind the national average to over the per pupil average

in 1988–89. Teachers salaries also benefitted, but to a lesser degree, due perhaps to increased construction budgets for new buildings, especially at the elementary level. In addition, Virginia is one of the few states that increased the percentage of funding from local districts and declined in state funding percentage. (In many other states, increased state contributions to education have meant increased state control over policy decisions, based on the Golden Rule—he who has the gold makes the rule. That is not the case in Virginia.)

To get a sense of what classes are like, the student-faculty ratio is useful, even though it is not an exact measure of class size. (While the Virginia average is about 17 students per class, California, the state with the biggest growth in student populations and the most diversity, has an average of 23 students per class. It will cost California more than $10 billion just to get down to the national average where Virginia is now.)

What amazes most foreigners and a number of Americans is that while our student-FACULTY ratio is 16.3 to 1, our student-STAFF ratio (teachers plus other adult school employees) is 8.6 to 1 in Virginia! And Virginia is no different from all other states in having one nonteaching adult on the school staff for EVERY teacher. There is very real debate on whether or not these salaries for nonteachers are justified. Parents of a high school junior will want to make sure that the high school has a good college counselor who can get their child into a good college; parents of every handicapped child will want the best special education program available; every parent of a child living more than a few blocks from the school will want bus service; and because kids live so far away from their school they must have cafeterias in schools to serve them lunch. (In France, by contrast, almost all children go home for lunch.)

We need to face the fact that student diversity requires a large number of adults, some of whom are not teachers. The debate should be over which functions should be met by the schools in the form of paid adult workers. In addition, the number of consultants, curriculum specialists who do not teach, assistant and associate superintendents, assistant principals, secretaries, bus drivers, cooks, et al., is very large indeed. But as even more women join the work force, as they will, the pressure will be on the schools to provide even more services, like staying open until five to care for the kids until parents can get home from work. Virginia is a state with a large number of kids who are from either working couple homes or single parent homes. (The Population Reference Bureau estimates that in 1987, 325,000 of the 1.5 million children in Virginia were in single parent homes.)

When one thinks of "level of effort" in education, one thinks of how much of people's tax money gets spent on education. Virginia, which is 11th in per capita income, ranked 42nd in education expenditures as a percent of per capita income. For the large number of adults in Virginia without children in the public schools, education expenditure is not number one on their priority list. As population growth slows somewhat in the coming decade, we can expect a decline in interest in public schools in Virginia. The kinds of taxpayer's revolts that have been visible throughout the state in early 1990 on property tax increases, particularly increases in home assessments, certainly suggest that increased support for more school funding will be tough to come by, even in districts with an increased number of kids to educate.

While the minority percentage of Virginia's students would be expected to be large, it is in fact below the national average—27 percent in Virginia compared to 30 percent for the nation. As we look to the future, it is clear that Virginia's minority populations will continue to be behind the nation (see Table 2).

Table 2
Minority Youth
Virginia and the United States Compared

	1990	2000	2010	Net change
Virginia	28.5%	29.4%	31.1%	+2.6%
U.S.	30.7%	34.0%	38.2%	+7.5%
Total VA. Youth	1.48M	1.60M	1.54M	+4.3%
Total U.S. Youth	64.0M	65.7M	62.6M	−2.2%

Source: *American Demographics*, May 1989.

Several things are of interest here. First, 34 states will show declines from 1990–2010 in their youth population, even though there are gains from 1990–2000. After 2000, the "Boomlet" will have worked its way through the schools, leaving a steadily declining youth population behind during the next century. In the year 2010, by the way, our largest states—California, New York, Texas, Florida, plus a number of others—will have minority youth populations that are more than half of all youth in the state, bringing up a new question: what do we call "minorities" when they are more than half of the population being considered?

In the case of Virginia, the crucial thing may be the increasing diversity of minority populations, and not just in Northern Virginia. Most of the state's metro areas can expect increasing ethnic diversity, particularly Hispanics, Asians, and many more people from the Middle East. The black population will show little increase in Virginia.

As we try to find quality indicators for Virginia's schools, we can look at the graduation rate—74 percent of Virginia's sophomores graduated "on time" in 1987, compared to 71 percent for the nation. While this is a somewhat favorable rating, it means that about one quarter of Virginia's young people begin adult life without the minimal economic benefits of a high school diploma. The vast majority of these young people will end up in minimum wage jobs, which at current rates pay about $7,500 a year for full-time work. It is not clear what kind of housing or car one can afford at that level, nor can one get married or begin a family. Thus a quarter of Virginia's future begins adulthood, at best, as members of the

"working poor." At worst, remember that 82 percent of America's prisoners are high school dropouts, and that each prisoner costs the American taxpayer over $20,000 a year to maintain. No one in Virginia benefits by having a young person drop out of high school, least of all the taxpayer.

For those young people that do graduate, there is some evidence that the level of academic performance is quite high. Although as a measure it has limits, the average SAT score for Virginia seniors was 902 in 1988, the 8th highest of the 22 states that use the SAT. In addition, 65 percent of Virginia's seniors actually take the test, indicating that the numbers reflect the ability level of a majority of Virginia seniors. Another good measure of "high end" performance is the percentage of students taking Advanced Placement (AP) courses. In Virginia, 16 percent of all seniors have taken AP courses, the 7th highest rate in the nation. At the present time, AP test scores are not available by state.

By and large, Virginia is a state that could afford to increase its resource base for public schools during the next decade, as the number of youth will be increasing. But it is not likely to happen as other economic consequences of the state's growth patterns begin to emerge, and other funding priorities (roads, health care, crime and property tax relief, just for starters) begin to build larger voter support.

In addition, there is a vast range in the state in terms of economic resources per student, and because such a high percentage of resources are derived locally, some students in Virginia will have very little spent on them, while other areas will have a great amount. If the discrepancies get too large, Virginia may have to worry about legal actions similar to those in Kentucky and Texas, in which the state's entire system of public education has been dismissed as inequitable. It is likely that more such suits will occur during the coming decade.

Another factor of importance to Virginia's future concerns the national increase of affluent black families, families with incomes over $50,000 a year. The number of U.S. black families at this level jumped from 212,000 in 1967 to 764,000 in 1987—a 360 percent increase. (Income is in constant 1987 dollars. See *American Demographics*, November, 1989 for further discussion.) The Washington, D.C. area has more than twice the national average of affluent black households, both in the core city and in the Virginia-Maryland suburbs. Black suburbanization has also increased at a very rapid rate since 1982 in the Virginia suburbs of D.C. These wealthy black families are first generation wealthy—they make money "the old fashioned way," by earning it. However, they will pass some of it *on* to their children, and they will not want their children to go to college—they will want their children to go to YALE. The difference between wanting your kids to go to college and wanting your kids to go to Yale or Harvard is one generation in the suburbs.

The growth of the black middle class in Virginia—Norfolk and Richmond as well as the Washington area—is one of the most important and optimistic factors in Virginia's development. Although it separates middle income blacks from others in poverty, it will provide successful role models for black youngsters, just as Governor Wilder will do. However, the negative side of the same picture represents the increased difficulty black families have in getting out of poverty compared to whites. The conversion of Virginia to a middle-class majority state since WW II has been primarily a matter of education and jobs—education not only for the existing Virginia population, but the fact that people migrating to Virginia had higher education levels, usually paid for by the "sending" state. If growth rates do slow down in the 1990s, Virginia will have to focus more energy and resources on increasing the educational attainments of its EXISTING citizens rather than counting on more PHD's from other states to move here and increase the work skills of Virginia. And this means widening the entry way to the middle class through increased educational opportunities for every Virginian.

HIGHER EDUCATION IN VIRGINIA

Our discussion would not be complete without a few comments about Virginia's colleges and universities. To begin, there has been a major increase in the status granted to many Virginia institutions which were considered "safe schools" in the 1960s but today are as selective as any in the nation. As the Chronicle of Higher Education's "Almanac" of September 6, 1989 put it, "It says something about Virginia when the biggest controversies affecting public colleges and universities arise because people are fighting to get into them." Things were all right when only VIRGINIANS wanted to attend, but increasing applications from outside the state have created some major political tensions.

The state has been engaged in a serious long-range approach to higher education planning—the work of the Commission on the University of the 21st Century is just one major example. Institutional autonomy is a deeply valued principle in Virginia, allowing the Boards of Visitors of each four-year campus a great deal of control. The State Council of Higher Education for Virginia is a highly respected coordinating board which publishes some of the best analytical studies around, but its political muscle on campuses is not strong, leading to a question for the Wilder administration—how does the strategic plan for higher education in Virginia get implemented?

Virginia's higher education system has everything—William and Mary College, founded before the American Revolutionary War, The University of Virginia, highly selective and the traditional place for the sons (and daughters) of Virginia's elite to be educated, George Mason University, working hard to parallel the enormous growth in educational needs in the Northern Virginia area as it seeks national prestige simultaneously, the University of Richmond, already the university of the city and now increasing in mission and quality, Virginia Polytechnic Institute, one of the major resources in the nation for science and engineering, the increasingly popular James Madison campus, the highly regarded traditionally black

Table 3
Virginia's Higher Education

Public Four-Year Institutions	15
Public Two-Year Institutions	24
Private Four-Year Institutions	32
Private Two-Year Institutions	8
Total Institutions	79
Vocational Institutions	191
Student Enrollment:	
Public Four-Year Institutions	151,589
Public Two-Year Institutions	123,994
Private Four-Year Institutions	42,011
Private Two-Year Institutions	1,432
Women Students (as a percent of all students)	55.9%
Minority Students (as a percent of all students)	17.6%
Percent of Entering Students from Virginia	75.0%
Number of Full-Time Faculty (public institutions)	8,275
Percent with Tenure	52.2%
Percent Female	27.8%
Number of Full-Time Faculty (private institutions)	1,795
Percent with Tenure	58.9%
Percent Female	29.1%
Average Tuition and Fees (public four-year)	$2,070
Average Tuition and Fees (public two-year)	$ 775
Average Tuition and Fees (private four-year)	$5,724
Average Tuition and Fees (private two-year)	$4,644
State Funds for Higher Education Operations	$1,033,096,000
Percent Change (last two years)	+15%

Source: *Chronicle of Higher Education*, September 6, 1989.

institutions of Hampton, Norfolk State and Virginia State plus a thriving state system of community colleges. As the state's population has grown in size and complexity, so has the state's higher education system. (Indeed, population growth is usually a prerequisite for higher education growth. In addition, financial support for higher education in Virginia has been increasing because the state's economy has grown during the 1980s.) Table 3 above provides a look at the system itself.

Several things stand out in these data. First, the state has developed a diversified set of institutions, rather well dispersed throughout the state. Second, the state is unique in the southeast in terms of the large percentage of student residents of other states who came to Virginia to study. Third, the cost of a college education in Virginia is low, particularly in terms of perceived quality, which is high. This is true for both public and private institutions, and may explain some of the appeal for residents of other states. Fourth, the percentage of women faculty is very low. There is also a small percentage of the faculty with tenure. Fifth, the state has been rather generous in its support of higher education, perhaps more than its sup-

port of Virginia's public schools. Finally, although improvements have been made, the state can do much more about attracting more minority students into higher education with the express goal of GRADUATING them. (The retention program at William and Mary is just one example of attempts to achieve this goal in Virginia.)

As we think of the next decade in higher education, Virginia is likely to get used to constant enrollment growth as a way of paying for higher education. However, after the year 2000 the number of Virginia youth is expected to drop from 1.6 million to 1.5 million by 2010. It is very hard in higher education to accelerate fast for a decade knowing that your foot has to move to the brake pedal. Community colleges may see a peak in their enrollments soon, with a decline in the number of 26–40 year olds, unless they seek out or create new markets for their services. Additional battles may be fought in Northern Virginia as George Mason University seeks to become a "second flagship" in this vital area of higher education opportunities, a development not smiled upon by the other major university players in the state. Actually, the needs for coordination may increase during the 1990s to a considerable extent in Virginia, particularly in areas where structures are weak—articulation between secondary schools and higher education, and between community colleges and four-year programs.

It is important in understanding Virginia's future to realize that no part of the educational system can be any stronger than the rest of the system allows it to be. If elementary schools decline, higher education cannot expect to improve. In a state which has valued freedom and independence of individuals and institutions since its inception, these issues may increase in importance. **Competition comes easily in Virginia, voluntary coordination—in education, health, housing, transportation and other areas of state services—is much harder to pull off.** Yet, that may be what the state will need in the next decade.

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SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

No state has changed more during the post-WW II era than Virginia. The state today is a model of a diverse economy, a well-educated suburban middle-class majority living in metro areas throughout the state, a high level of individual and state wealth and a high level of participation in the work force. Yet, vestiges of the old Virginia can still be found—rural poverty, black citizens not yet able to fulfill their promise, a concern for local autonomy rather than the needs of the state as a whole, poorly coordinated state services and regional conflict within the state. The trick is to appreciate the progress while not slacking off the effort.

The dynamic economic performance in Virginia during the 1980s is due in large part to new things entering the state—especially new skilled workers and new businesses. The state created almost 15,000 new jobs in 1989 alone, a 5.5 percent increase over 1988. Fifty-eight percent of these new jobs were in manufacturing. A number of foreign firms either opened or expanded businesses in Virginia during 1989. During the next decade, people and jobs will continue to enter the state, but at a reduced level. Rather than paying for growth by taxing FUTURE growth, Virginia will have to develop a "pay-as-you-go" pattern of taxation and service delivery. This is particularly important in thinking about the range of demands on the state budget.

1. Compared with other states, Virginia has a small number of miles of roadway and a very large number of licensed drivers who drive an exceptionally large number of cars a large number of miles each year. In vehicle miles per driver, California ranks 24th while Virginia ranks SEVENTH. Although Northern Virginia suffers the most from planned, authorized and unbuilt road projects over the last twenty years, most metro areas in the state are vulnerable to gridlock. Given the lack of succession of the governor, a plan needs to be developed for this area which will transcend gubernatorial shifts. The major responsibility for this must rest with the legislature.

2. One of the most encouraging aspects about Virginia's last decade was the clear emergence of the black middle class. While the numbers are not exact, one look at suburban Virginia in most of its metro areas will reveal suburban blacks, well-educated, making a good living and anxious that their kids do even better. While some newly affluent black families may feel guilty about deserting their heritage, the fact is that a door is finally opened, and it must now be opened even wider. This means higher graduation rates for minority students in Virginia's schools and colleges, more support of black-owned small businesses, and more support for adults who do not possess a high school diploma but would like to by participating in GED type programs.

3. The state needs a clear policy on "high tech" development, and how the state's many resources in this field can be maximized. There are many alternative strategies to the one used in the 1980s—everyone competes and the best ONE will be selected. Rather than playing zero-sum political games with the problem, it would be better to establish where the state wants to go in the areas of technology, then nourish the RANGE of resources in the state that can collectively reach the goal.

4. While high school graduation rates are a little above the U.S. average, one fourth of Virginia's youth still enter adult life without a high school diploma, marking them for membership among the "working poor" or worse. (Remember that 80 percent of Virginia's prisoners are high school dropouts.) Large inequities exist between per student spending in the wealthy suburbs of Washington and the areas of urban and rural poverty. These inequities need very special attention in order to avoid court decisions similar to those of Kentucky and Texas.

5. Virginia's higher education system has become highly desirable to students from outside the state. Yet potential budget shortfalls during 1990 may force a hard decision on how open the state's colleges and universities should be to outside students compared to the state's responsibility to "grow their own." In the Virginia tradition of institutional autonomy, campus aspirations for "greatness" may well conflict with the state's strategic plans for higher education's development, a real test of the state's ability to coordinate higher education's future.

6. While Virginia's job growth has been commendable during the 1980s, the "declining middle" problem—the creation of many well-paying jobs and many minimum wage jobs, with few in the middle of the economic range—is likely to become a problem in the 1990s. In addition, the relatively young work force, now in its peak earning years, may begin to retire early, resulting in a less skilled labor pool. Attention needs to be paid, not just to the number of jobs created, but the range of incomes, and the chances of "moving up through the chairs" particularly in jobs in the service sector. If the American dream is to be kept alive and well, hard work must be rewarded with promotions and responsibility. Yet the two jobs created most often in 1989—cashiers and janitors—have few possibilities for reward for exceptional performance.

7. As population and job growth slows in the 1990s the state can plan even better for the kind of work force and job structure it would like to have. While these considerations need to be fed into the state's educational system, it is also important to understand that education has an additional job—to produce intelligent and knowledgable adults who will make good decisions as workers, as family members and in the voting booth.

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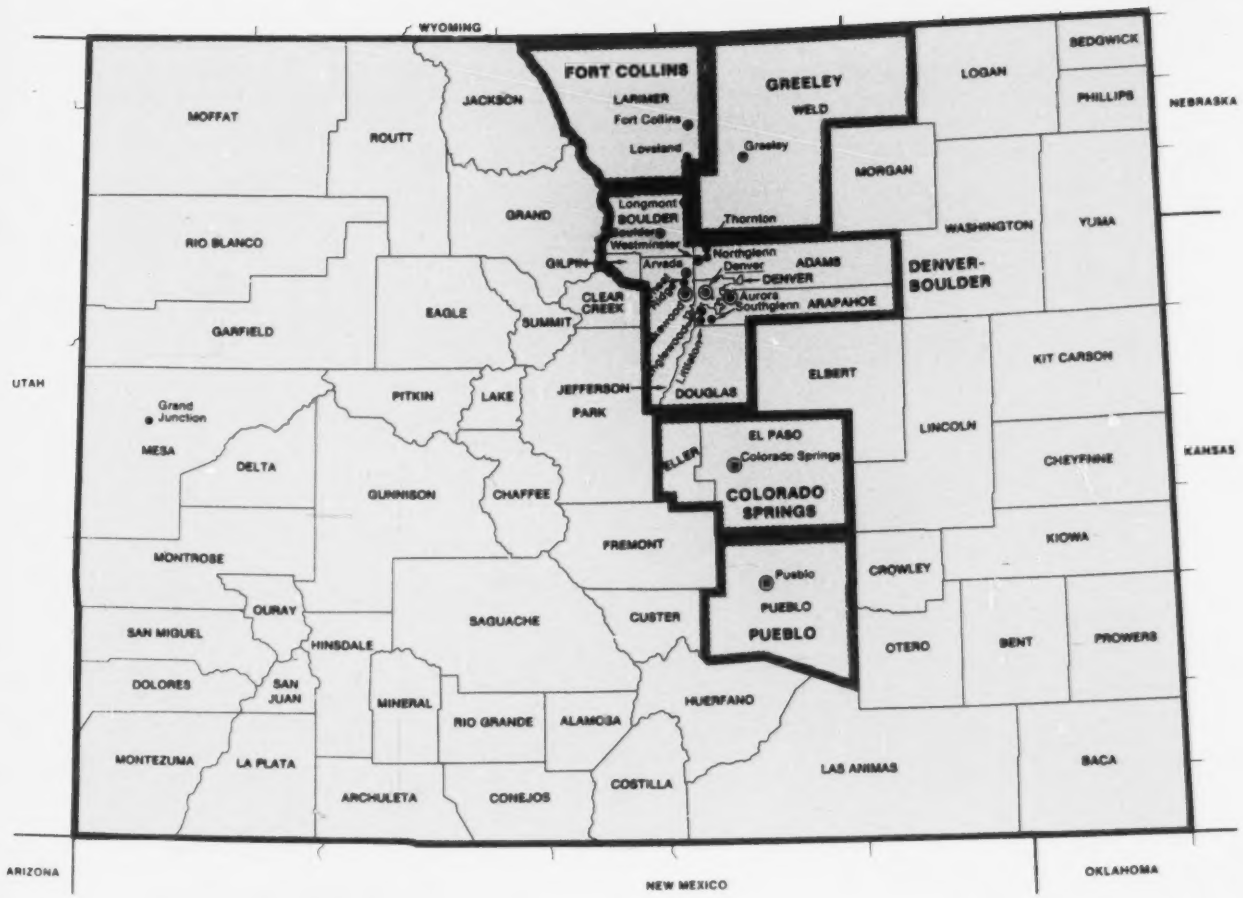

THE STATE AND ITS EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

BY: HAROLD L. HODGKINSON

INSTITUTE FOR EDUCATIONAL LEADERSHIP, INC. / CENTER FOR DEMOGRAPHIC POLICY

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Over the years, the author has learned much about Colorado from Cal Frazier, former Superintendent of Public Instruction, Dick Jonson, new President of the Western Interstate Commission for Higher Education, Frank Newman and Aimes McGuiness of the Education Commission of the States. Susan Zimmerman's coalition-building efforts in Denver were very helpful, and Martha Romero, currently on the Commissioner's staff but soon to move to Pike's Peak Community College, has provided many insights about Colorado Hispanic populations and the state in general.

However, errors of fact or interpretation remain the responsibility of the author.

Harold L. Hodgkinson
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Cover Note:
The cover map makes clear the population distribution within the "wedge" which is the Front Range, giving Colorado areas of very high and very low population density. Very few major markets lie within 200 miles of the wedge, making it hard for Denver to become a major distribution center. It also indicates the difficulty of providing water and energy resources to so many people in such a small area, which also explains the potential for pollution of many kinds—it's hard to "flush anything away" in Colorado! Population "maps" can be very useful for people who are looking for the human equivalents to rivers and mountains, including planners, marketers and even educators.

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COLORADO:
THE STATE AND ITS EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

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COLORADO—THE STATE AND ITS EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

The images of Colorado that float into people's heads are probably very similar—mountains, skiing, Denver and the "Front Range," Coors, energy extraction, Stapleton Airport and the Air Force Academy. This all comes from the major expansion of the Colorado economy during the seventies. Probably no state has benefitted as much from its scenery, in that some of the best educated people in America found Colorado to be a most appealing place to live. (By 1980, Colorado had the highest percentage of people with a college degree of any state, but HALF of them earned their degree in another state, meaning that the good taxpayers of Michigan, Massachusetts, Indiana and Ohio paid for that education, after which the recipient took it to Colorado.)

Today, although the scenery is still gorgeous and the ski runs are packed, there is a sense in which the bloom is off the rose. The 1982 recession skidded the Colorado economy down as fast as a ski run at Vail, even though the effects were not clear until 1984. Although oil prices probably led the way, the speculative and overbuilt real estate markets were right behind, especially in the Denver metropolitan area where vacancy rates reached almost 40 percent. Although Denver is touted as the high tech center of the Rockies along with financial and business services, the primary markets are very heavily agriculture, energy and mineral production. These three seem to continue to be the most volatile sectors of the nation's economy, making Denver, as well as the rest of the state, very vulnerable to economic cycles. Even Colorado's profitable manufacturing sector is linked to energy and minerals.

In fact, the Rocky Mountain states have done so badly compared to the rest of the nation that, for the first time, they now rank below the southeast in terms of 1988 per capita income. In addition, the gap between the top and bottom region is wider than at any time since 1969 (see Table 1).

Table 1
Regions Ranked by
Per Capita Income, 1988

Region	Rank
New England	1
Mid-Atlantic	2
Plains	3
Southwest	4
Southeast	5
Rockies	6

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, April 1989.

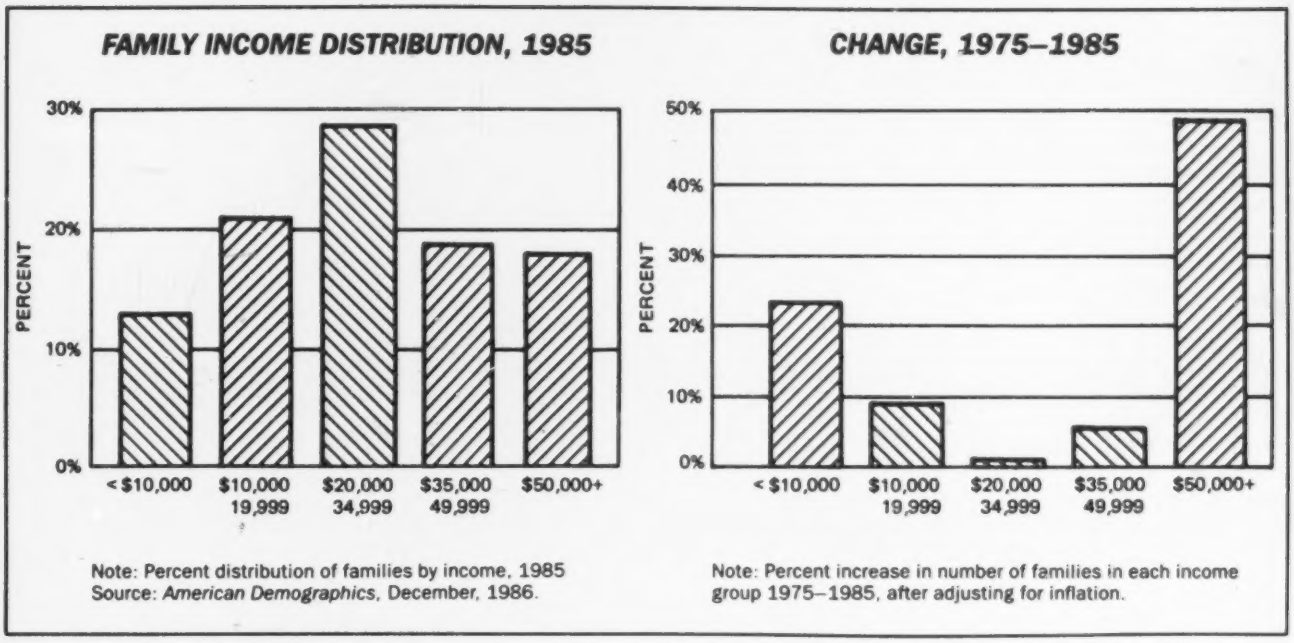
If there is a moral to this story, it is that in the 1990s, regions, states and individual families will be increasingly richer or poorer, with fewer in the middle income range. For families, the income data look like that shown in Figure 1 (Page 2).

If one questions how the Rocky Mountain states arrived at the bottom on per capita income, several answers would include business failures per million population as well as housing foreclosures (see Figures 2 and 3).

A final indicator of trouble in the mountains is to look at the U.S. cities with the worst air pollution, according to the 1988 Environmental Protection Agency's (EPA) report on carbon monoxide violation days (see Table 2). The cities with the BEST air quality in the EPA report are shown in Table 3.

While the EPA appears to be measuring air pollution levels, they are also measuring industrial conversion levels as well. It is clear that most of the "Rust Bowl" states, written off by many futurists as over the hill, have turned their economies around, and are building diversified eco-

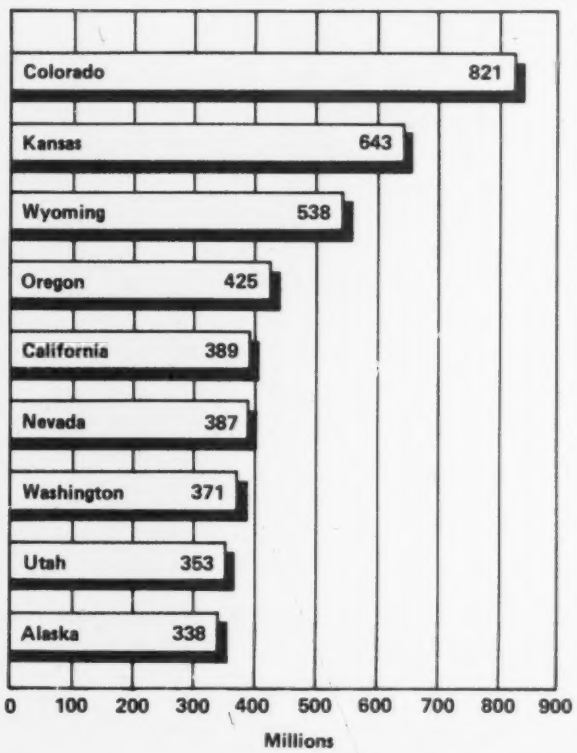
Figure 1



Note: Percent distribution of families by income, 1985
Source: *American Demographics*, December, 1986.

Note: Percent increase in number of families in each income group 1975–1985, after adjusting for inflation.

Figure 2
Business Failures for Selected States 1988



(Business failures per million residents.)
Source: *The Chronicle*, using data from Dun & Bradstreet, 1988.

Table 2
Cities With Worst Air Pollution, 1988

	Number of Violation Days
1. New York	86
2. Spokane, Washington	66
3. Los Angeles	40
4. Steubenville, Ohio	28
5. Denver	24
6. Las Vegas	20
7. Provo, Utah	20
8. Fairbanks, Alaska	15
9. Albuquerque	14

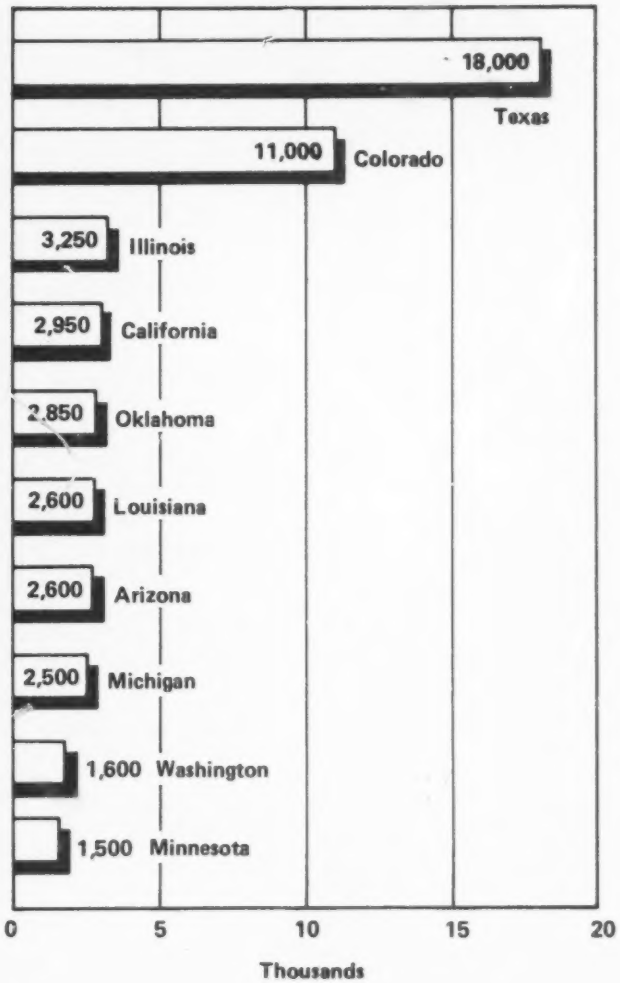
Source: Environmental Protection Agency, 1988.

Table 3
Cities With Best Air Quality, 1988

	Number of Violation Days
1. Cleveland	0
2. Boston	0
3. San Jose	0
4. Detroit	1
5. Pittsburgh	3

Source: Environmental Protection Agency, 1988.

Figure 3
Housing Foreclosures* In Troubled States, As of August 31, 1988



*Numbers are estimates.
Source: *The Washington Post*, using data from the Farmers Home Administration, HUD and the Veterans Administration.

nomic resources that are recession resistant, while the "Sun Belt," extolled by every futurist from John Naisbett to Marvin Cetron as the place to seek fame and fortune, is now in deep ecological and economic trouble. The Rocky Mountain states are pushing hard for "high tech" as a major source of stability for their economies, and it may be that there will not be enough high tech to go around. Certainly tourism, mineral extraction and energy are unlikely to settle down. In addition, the major jobs in tourism—maids, waiters and waitresses, janitors, night watchmen, clerks and cashiers—do not pay very well at all.

Yet, Colorado's past has been largely boom and bust, and the U.S. Census Bureau projects that Colorado's population will continue to grow, from 3.4 million in 1990 to 3.8 million in 2000 and to 4 million by 2010, a growth rate (11 percent for the 1990-2000 period and 7.5 percent for 2000-2010) a little above the national average. This growth rate hides the fact that 13,000 people leave each year. In many western states, when times get bad, people "hunker down" rather than leaving for a place where things look better. It may be the only way to survive a boom and bust economy if you like the scenery.

On the other hand, it may not be possible to SEE the scenery in 2010 in parts of Colorado. It seems hard for Colorado to mount a serious attack on very pressing problems—the Front Range continues to sprawl out across a huge megalopolis (see the cover of this publication) in a very uncoordinated fashion, the altitude makes cars run in a very inefficient and highly polluting way which, in addition to the "bowl" of air inversion which makes the threat of future pollution even more vital, the fragility of the water delivery system in Colorado is more obvious every day, the severance tax issues grow more complex, yet Colorado has little ability to develop a PLAN for attacking these problems. Even the election of Governor Lamm (and his re-election) did not result in the legislature's passage of legislation which could protect the state from its own development, even in a western, "everyman for himself" state. Future growth is usually seen as part of the solution rather than as part of the problem. Continued growth will require even more water, and some of the proposals for expanding the water supply, based on water located 600-1,000 miles away, make Rube Goldberg look like a careful planner. And that's water for new homes, agricultural irrigation and energy development. Even though the scenery is still beautiful, there are times for action. As *The National Journal* author, Neal Peirce puts it:

> A once-in-a-generation opportunity to build a resiliant, conserving society in one of the most exquisite places on earth will have been forsaken.

Let's now have a look at how this very special state looks in comparison with the rest. (See Colorado Profile next page.)

Weaving a pattern from these numbers, Colorado emerges as an exceptionally beautiful yet vulnerable state, both ecologically and economically. The environmental vulnerability comes from the highly compressed, dense human population of the Front Range and the sparse natural resources per acre, including water and air (very low density at altitude) plus the famous "bowl effect" that holds pollutants over Denver. There are no buffers between contamination and the environment, and it is very hard to throw or flush ANYTHING "away." The economic vulnerability comes from a non-diverse economy built on agriculture, minerals and energy extraction, all three are bound to go up and down very often and with wide swings.

The state's population is about average in size, but it is very concentrated and not distributed evenly. Although

COLORADO PROFILE AND STATE RANK

	Colorado	Rank	United States
Population, 1988	3,290,000	26th	245,807,000
Population Change, 1980-88	+13.8%	11th	+8.5%
Population Projection, 2000	3,813,000	25th	267,747,000
Percent of Population:			
Over Age 65	9.2%	47th	12.3%
Living in Metro Areas	81.7%	12th	76.9%
Black Adult Population, 1988	90,000	28th	20,441,000
Hispanic Adult Population, 1988	264,000	9th	18,000,000
Births (per 1,000 population), 1986	16.9	10th	15.6
Percent to Teenage Mothers	10.2%	34th	12.6%
Percent to Unmarried Women	18.0%	36th	23.4%
Infant Deaths (per 1,000 live births)	8.6	46th	10.4
Doctors (per 100,000 population), 1986	199	15th	205
Hospital Beds (per 100,000 population), 1986	441	41st	532
Average Hospital Daily Room Charges, 1988	$260	15th	$253
Murders (per 100,000 population), 1987	7.3	23rd	9.0
Crimes (per 100,000 population), 1987	7,032	5th	5,480
Crime Rate Change, 1985-87	−6.8%	49th	+6.5%
Violent Crimes (per 100,000 population), 1987	468	21st	609
Prisoners (per 100,000 population), 1986	112.4		
Percent of Population Who Voted in 1988 Presidential Election	55.1%	16th	50.2%
State/Local Government General Expenditures (per capita), 1986	$2,568	21st	$2,504
Income Tax as Percent of State Revenue	40.4%	9th	30.8%
Federal Grants to State and Local Governments (per capita), 1987	$349	45th	$427
Federal Defense Funds, 1987	$ 4.4 Billion	16th	$215 Billion
Social Security Recipients, 1987	11.7%	47th	15.3%
Food Stamp Recipients, 1987	5.8%	32nd	7.5%
Average Annual Pay, 1987	$20,736	11th	$21,855
Bank Deposits (per capita), 1987	$ 6,137	40th	8,134
Employment Population Ratio	69.2%	2nd	61.5%
Female Labor Force Participation Rate, 1988	61.6%	10th	56.6%
Gross State Product, 1986	$59.2 Billion	23rd	$4,191 Billion
Manufacturing (as a Percent of Gross State Product), 1986	12.9%	40th	19.7%
Change in Housing Starts, 1985-87	−38.7%	48th	−10.2%
Retail Sales Per Capita, 1987	$6,681	18th	$6,348

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1989.*

the growth rate has been greater than the nation, it is not as great as Florida, Texas, etc. By the year 2000 Colorado will have 3.8 million people and will move from a rank of 26th to 25th. The elderly population is a small fraction of the state total, although it will increase in the decade to come. The Hispanic population is much larger than the black population, and has been in Colorado for a long time indeed. (Hispanics got in on the ground floor in terms of mining and farming, and generally do better than Hispanics in most other states in terms of income.)

Fertility rates are high, given the large number of young adults in the population. In addition, "at risk" babies born to teenage or unmarried mothers are a surprisingly small percentage of total births in the state, and Colorado has a very low level of infant deaths in the first year of life. There are fewer doctors and hospital beds per 100,000 people in Colorado than the nation as a whole, and the cost of a hospital room is greater than average. In addition, health care outside the Front Range may be very difficult to find.

The state's violent crime rate is about at the national average, but nonviolent crime is very high (personal, household or car theft, burglary, drug usage). Thus the criminals that get the longest jail sentences are comparatively rare in Colorado, meaning a rather small number of prisoners per 100,000 citizens. Again, a highly educated population will tend to have a lower number of prisoners, because education leads to economic self-sufficiency while over 80 percent of the prisoners in our jails are high school dropouts, and each one costs the taxpayer around $20,000 a year just for maintenance. A high school dropout will get, at best, a minimum wage job with not enough pay to allow for the basics of owning or renting a home, getting married, starting a family or even owning a car.

Given the very high educational level among the adults of Colorado, the percentage of people who voted in the 1988 Presidential election is somewhat lower than expectations. State and local government funding is about at the national level per person, although income taxes are a very high percentage of the total, and severance taxes are very high in most energy extraction businesses. In typically western fashion, reliance on federal formula grants is very low, even though the federal government is welcomed in terms of defense dollars coming to Colorado (some $4.4 billion).

A young population has a low level of social security recipients, and the low level of food stamps may or may not show a low level of poverty—it may be that the state doesn't like food stamp programs as sapping independence, energy, etc. It IS clear that Coloradans earn a lot of pay, and that they save a very small fraction of it. (The "now ethic" seems alive and well in the state.) Most people who are capable of working are in the work force, especially women. But most people who are capable of saving are not in the "savings force," perhaps because younger citizens don't have the desire to save, that happens usually in the middle years.

While the Gross State Product was reasonable in 1986, the precipitous drop in housing starts from 1985-87, plus the mortgage foreclosure and business failure data mentioned earlier show that as of 1989, Colorado had not yet climbed out of the economic hole it was in previously. But Coloradans seem a lot like Texans in this respect—when times are bad, most do not move away, they "hunker down." Because the major problems in the Colorado economy do not seem to be overly concerned with the production of jobs but rather with the economic "pipeline" that is necessary for jobs to function, it may be that the state can rebound quite quickly when the economic pipeline that fuels jobs gets unclogged. The limited amount of outmigration from the Denver area was scheduled to end by the end of 1989 as employment levels began to rebound. But because of the overbuilding in the eighties (both office and residential) it seems unlikely that Denver will lead Colorado to good times. Granted, business services are up, and the activity surrounding the new airport and the Denver convention center will pump new dollars into the Denver economy, but they represent cost centers as well as profit centers. Although the Denver metropolitan area is about half of the state's population, it is likely that the entire Front Range will have to show economic growth, and not just Denver. Certainly the decline in construction and related fields should bottom out during 1990, and Denver business services should show some modest gains.

However, the long-term problem for Colorado comes from the lack of diversity in the economy, and the dependency, even now, on highly fluctuational areas. There is an increase in business services, software, etc., but if one looks for the major markets within 200 miles of Denver, they are very hard to find. In addition, the state has shown a prolonged unwillingness to deal with the truly urgent problems of the rapid decline in one of the most beautiful and vulnerable environments to be found, even on social issues. Because poverty is not highly visible in Colorado, it is easy to ignore.

Before proceeding to the discussion of educational issues, it is worth a moment to consider the very special Hispanic population of Colorado. Although over 60 percent of Colorado Hispanics are of Mexican ancestry, they have been in Colorado for a long time, and have been involved in mining and timber from the beginning. As a result, they are comparatively well-organized politically, with strong organizations in the areas of business, church and political action. Over half of the state's Hispanics live in the Denver metro area, mostly in Adams and Denver counties, not in Arapahoe, Boulder, Gilpin, Jefferson and Douglas. The original Denver barrio area was north of today's "downtown," which has, via roads and business expansion, split the original Hispanic community into several fragments.

Whites, blacks and Hispanics in the Denver metro area all earn more than their counterparts in other places, but white household income is still far higher than that for blacks or Hispanics. But the potential for advancement makes Colorado an attractive place for Hispanics in California, the Midwest and Southwest. Because of the length of time in the area, a small percent of Hispanics speak Spanish at home. The *Hispanic Almanac* suggests that 90 percent of Hispanics speak only English at home. (The

COLORADO'S EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

	1983-84	1988-89
School Enrollment:		
Elementary	319,064	319,216
Secondary	223,111	240,865
Total	542,175	560,081
Per Pupil Expenditure (CO)	$3,261	$4,633 Rank-18th
Per Pupil Expenditure (U.S.)	$3,173	$4,509
Average Teacher Salary (CO)	$22,895	$29,558
Average Teacher Salary (U.S.)	$22,019	$29,567

	Colorado		U.S. 1988-89
Funding Sources:			
Federal	4.7%	4.8%	6.3%
State	42.0%	38.5%	50.2%
Local	53.3%	56.7%	43.5%
Graduation Rate	70.9%	73.7%	71.1%
Pupil/Teacher Ratio	18.7 to 1	18.0 to 1	17.6 to 1

		Rank
Per Capita Income, 1987	$15,584	15th
Adults with College Degree, 1988	23%	1st
1988 ACT Scores	19.7	7th (of 28 states using ACT)
Percent of ACT Scores over 26	17.1%	4th (of 28 states using ACT)
Percent of Population Age 5-17 Years in Poverty	10.8%	39th
Handicapped Students (as a percent of student enrollment)	9.3%	44th

Minority Students as a Percent of School Enrollment, (1987):	
Hispanic	14%
Black	5%
Asian	2%
American Indian	1%
Total Minority	22% (U.S. 30%)

	1990	2000	2010
Total Population, 0–18 Years	886,000	924,000	893,000
Percent minority	25.3%	28.4%	33.1% (U.S. 38.2%)

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Cenus, *Statistical Abstract of the U.S.*; 1989, Institute for Educational Leadership, Center for Demographic Policy, *State of the States, 1989; American Demographics*, May 1989; and U.S. Department of Education, Secretary's Office, State Educational Performance Chart, 1989.

language shift literature supports the idea that bilingual problems disappear with time). In addition, Hispanic educational levels are quite high in Colorado—about one in four has had some college, which is higher than other states and metro areas like Chicago, New York and Los Angeles.

The frustration is that while Hispanics do well in Colorado, so do whites, leaving the margin between them very high. In addition, in times of economic downturn, the better educated white population is much less vulnerable than the Hispanic population. In this environment, tensions and conflicts can be very difficult for Hispanic children, particularly in school settings: *You are supposed to do better than your parents, you are supposed to compete with your fellow students for grades but cooperate with them in other ways, you are supposed to look teachers straight in the eye and speak immediately when asked, even though many Hispanics consider downcast eyes and silence to be a mark of respect, etc.* Increasing numbers of Asian children in Colorado wrestle with the same cultural conflicts.

Now we can take a look at the numbers for the Colorado educational system, having established something of the context in which the educational system must operate.

We have now learned one of the reasons Colorado bounces back from serious recessions—the remarkably well-educated young work force. However, even though Colorado leads the nation in the percentage of adults with a college degree, it is clear that a large fraction of these college degree holders earned their degree in another state, whose taxpayers funded the degrees that then moved to Colorado.

Even during the economic downturn, per capita income stayed high, and in terms of level of effort, Colorado seems to be about average in support of education. (However, that support is heavily from local tax revenues, at a time when most states are moving toward greater responsibility for education. In terms of state level commitments to public schools, Colorado is far behind.) The enrollment data suggests a major problem—a decade of enrollment growth in the 1990s followed by a decade of decline to open the next Century. The decline will be heavily Anglo youth, while the percentage of minority school enrollments continues to expand after the year 2000.

Looking at "quality" measures, the state has an extraordinarily low level of high school graduation, considering that the adult population is number one in college degree holders. (People who have benefitted from high educational levels are usually supportive of education, at least for their own children.) By contrast, Minnesota has a 90 percent high school graduation rate with a smaller percent of adult college degree holders than Colorado. On the other hand, Colorado ACT scores are high, and the percentage of students scoring at the top of the test is 4th (of the 28 states using the ACT test). The state is also 9th in the nation in the percentage of students who have taken Advanced Placement courses. One way to read these data is to assume that the very well-educated take care of their own, but that in the "every man for himself" state there is less concern for the education of other people's children.

This theory is supported by the fact that poverty, while below the national average for young people, is not unknown in Colorado, but because most people are doing all right it is relatively easy to overlook the poor. The same notion would apply to the handicapped, in that only six states have a smaller percentage of special classes for such children. Even though minority populations do reasonably well in Colorado, the gap between their income and that of Anglos is no narrower than in the nation. A clear equity agenda seems to elude Colorado, just as is the case for the urgent steps needed to maintain the environment. It is hard for Colorado to "get its act together," either for the environment or for kids. But if the environment deteriorates further, why will the PhD's in engineering, trained in Michigan and Ohio, want to move to Colorado? If all young people do not get a good education, what will happen to the high per capita income in the state?

The parts of the nation that are having a "Baby Boomlet" (90 percent of which is in the south and west) are reporting an increase in ELEMENTARY enrollments. The disconcerting thing about Colorado is the increase in secondary enrollments in 1989, with no increase in elementary populations. One interpretation is that the number of young families with children moving to Colorado will decline in the 1990s or that others have moved away. This does not bode well for the future of Colorado's work force. In addition, the state has never liked pay as you go financing, preferring to finance present projects on anticipated revenues from future taxpayers moving to the state. During the 1990s, state projects will have to be financed from current state revenues, and the educational investments will have to show the ability to finance increases in the 1990s, with some decreases in the number of students in the following decade. Yet, the percentage of minority and "special needs" students is going to increase long into the next century. Colorado's leaders will have their hands full in planning for education over the next twenty year period.

In order to complete our discussion, we should take a moment to look at the higher education data in Colorado. See Higher Education Profile next page.

Colorado has a large number of institutions of higher education for a mountain state. However, the two-year enrollment is a lower percentage than in most states. This is probably due to the large number of out of state students who come to Colorado's four-year institutions, especially the University of Colorado at Boulder. According to state authorities, 83 percent of new students in 1986 were Colorado residents. The percentage of full-time students is proportionately higher than expected, probably for the same reason.

But compared to other states, Colorado higher education seems over-governed.There are six "college systems" in Colorado, each with its own governing board. Even the School of Mines has its own governing board. The Commission on Higher Education has done some

COLORADO'S HIGHER EDUCATION PROFILE, 1988

Public Four-Year Institutions	13
Public Two-Year Institutions	15
Private Four-Year Institutions	17
Private Two-Year Institutions	9
Total Institutions	54
Vocational Institutions	134
Student Enrollment:	
Public Four-Year Institutions	106,571
Public Two-Year Institutions	55,023
Private Four-Year Istitutions	17,708
Private Two-Year Institutions	4,281
Women Students (as a percent of all students)	52.0%
Minority Students (as a percent of all students)	11.9%
Minority Students in Two-Year Campuses	52.0%
Full-Time Students	59.6%
Percent Change in Enrollment, 1978-88	+19.2%
Average Tuition and Fees (Public Four-Year Institutions)	$1,482
Average Tuition and Fees (Public Two-Year Institutions)	$ 623
State Funds for Higher Education Operations	$475,181,000
Percent Change, 1986-88	+12%

Source: Chronicle of Higher Education, *Almanac, September 6, 1989*

excellent studies, particularly of minority retention and academic progress. The Commission has also studied the options for the Auraria Higher Education Center in Denver, a location where many institutions, programs and students meet in confusing circumstances. But this is not a "superboard," and the state legislature continues to hold to itself the right to scrutinize higher education very carefully. This supports our general notion that it is hard for Colorado to organize itself to accomplish an agreed-upon goal.

Both of the largest universities do well in garnering research grants. In Fiscal Year 1988, the University of Colorado ranked 20th in federal research and development (R&D) funds with $96 million, while R&D funds from all sources ranked 28th at $128 million. Colorado State University ranked 59th in federal R&D funds at $44.6 million, and ranked 77th in R&D funds from all sources at $59.3 million. (Both institutions do better from the federal government than they do from private foundations.) The issue is important, given the state's desire to diversify the economy by attracting high tech businesses to Colorado. Indeed, Colorado has become so competitive in R&D that some of the giants like California are becoming a trifle concerned, given the fact that the University of Colorado got more federal R&D money than did Cal Tech! (In Colorado, you can do research and breathe too, at least if you pick your spots carefully.)

In sum, the state has a diversified system (s) of higher education, comparatively well supported by the legislature who, nevertheless have a hard time keeping their hands off the institutions. Although comparative data are not available, it must cost a lot to govern Colorado's colleges and universities. Minorities are not overly well represented among the students, and Hispanics are disproportionately in community colleges and not at the flagships. Although data are still sketchy, it appears that few Hispanics graduate from four-year programs. (On the other hand, we are now finding out that in general, only about 15 percent of American students graduate from four-year programs in four years.) There seems to be considerable interest in Colorado in working on the problem of minority school success, kindergarten through graduate school, an important issue for the nation as well as the state. Colorado could lead on this issue, if the state decided it wanted to.

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SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

It is natural for most average U.S. citizens to be very concerned about Colorado's future, because a large percentage of us plan to take a vacation there at some time. Thus, Colorado's performance during the 1980s, lackluster at best, is of real concern to many. If Colorado cannot get its act together in order to save its truly gorgeous environment, then what hope is there for Ohio?

During the 1990s, things should get better, as business services and various kinds of "tech" increase in the state. But the major dependencies—on agriculture, minerals and energy extraction—remain. Even tourism, an expanding part of the Colorado economy, generates many jobs that pay minimum wage and very few jobs that pay well. Colorado has actually done better than most of the mountain states during the decade, but the tough problems remain for the "every man for himself" state. Here are some suggestions.

1. The Colorado Hispanic population is large and growing. It has been around Colorado for a long time, and successful Hispanics are making their way into government and business. Just as the Greeley "Dream Team" has taken on the task of reducing high school dropouts to a handful by 1995, so the state could decide to lead the nation in the percentage of minority students who graduate from high school, go on to college and FINISH. This would not require vast fiscal resources, but would require the coordination of human resources in a very sophisticated way.

2. Colorado adults have more college degrees per capita than any other state. Yet the state has had great difficulty in becoming the "education state" just as President Bush has had difficulty becoming the Education President, and for some of the same reasons. Because so many well-educated people have moved to Colorado after their educations were paid for by another state, Colorado has assumed an educational advantage they have not paid for—the "scenery factor." In the future, educational development should be accomplished by "pay-as-you-go" financing rather than assuming that future population growth will increase the tax base by a certain amount.

3. Population densities will increase in the Front Range, as will ethnic, cultural and linguistic diversity. Not just more Hispanics from Mexico—most of the world will be represented in Colorado's population by the year 2000. This diversity could be a source of great energy, innovation, and new businesses for Colorado, or it could be diverted to increasing the percentage of at-risk children in the state. The densities in the Front Range are great enough for a variety of new small business starts to be made successfully, especially small businesses run by the more diverse population now moving into Colorado.The state could do much to enhance the starting of small businesses.

And how do we get more black and Hispanic middle-class families to take up skiing so that they will come to Colorado and buy things being sold by the minority small businesses in Colorado? (American Hispanics buy about $140 billion of goods and services each year, and blacks buy about $250 billion.)

4. Because populations are so concentrated in the Front Range, it is easy to overlook rural poverty in Colorado. In some areas, essential services are very costly (a "Meals on Wheels" program that has to go 20 miles between stops will be much more costly than the same delivery schedule in a high density suburb where a driver can make 10 deliveries in the same apartment building). Some of these areas have a number of American Indians, a group particularly poorly served in the past. The same argument could be made for handicapped populations in Colorado, not well served at present. Although rugged individualism is a splendid thing, it can be tempered with compassion with little harm done. Just as the state needs to get together on a broad brush environmental strategy, it could also get together on a general strategy to increase equity, which might also increase economic opportunity and provide some jobs in the sparsely settled regions. The excellence of much of the Colorado higher education system is not yet available to all.

5. It may be that in the years to come, more initiatives for improving education will come from the local level in Colorado. At the moment there seem to be many promising examples in the state—Denver's coalition—building activity, the Greeley "Dream Team" and the achievements of the Academy School District are three among many. While these developments are commendable, there is a need for a sense of urgency for improved education across the state. The Governor and legislature must share this burden—Colorado must stop relying on the in-migration of well-educated people from other states. Colorado must grow its own.

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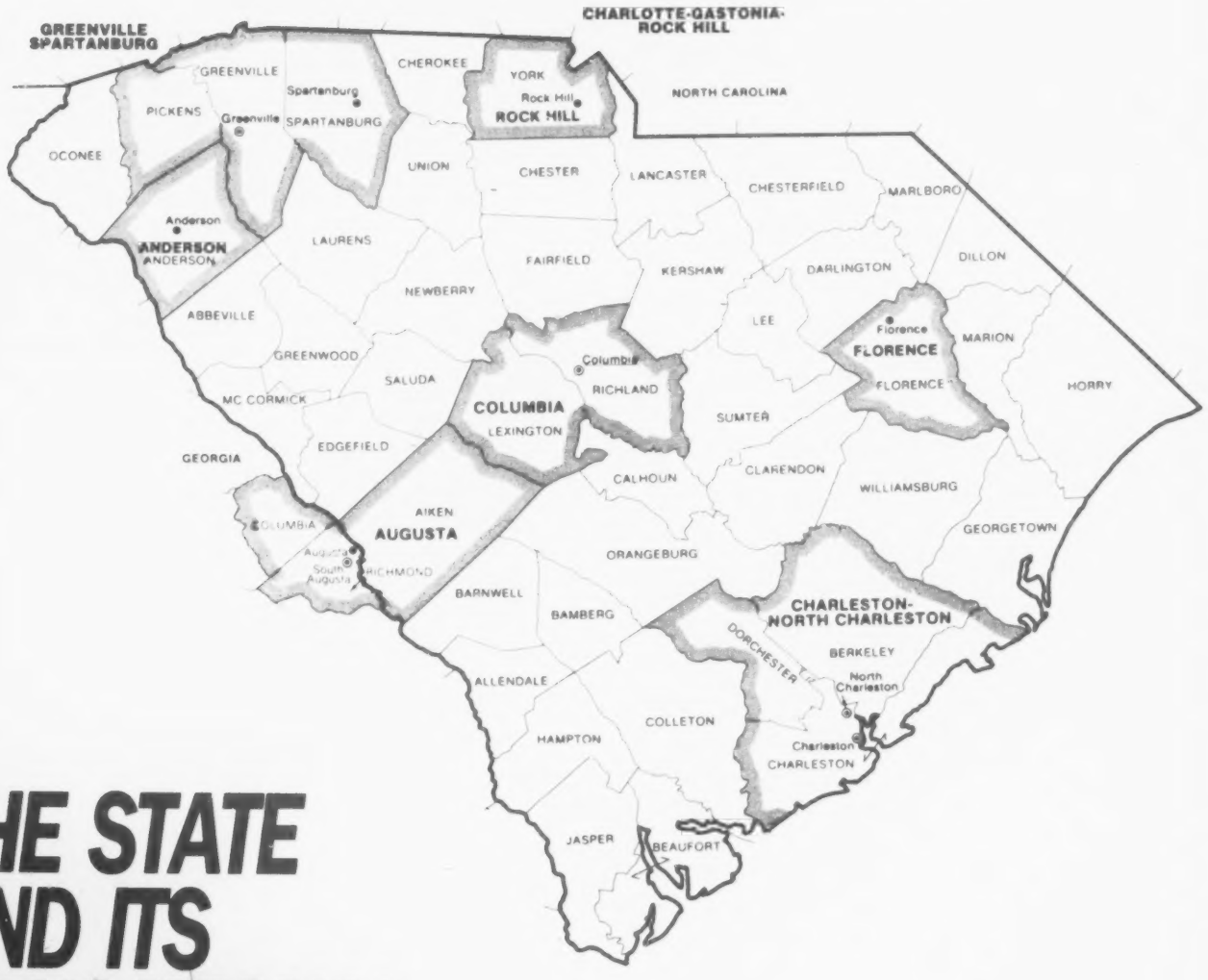
SOUTH CAROLINA:



THE STATE AND ITS EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

BY HAROLD L. HODGKINSON

INSTITUTE FOR EDUCATIONAL LEADERSHIP, INC. / CENTER FOR DEMOGRAPHIC POLICY

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Special thanks must go to South Carolina's Superintendent of Education, Dr. Charlie G. Williams, one of the real educational leaders in our country, as well as members of his staff who provided us with (excellent!) statistical data about the state's educational system. Alan Krech of the Commission on Higher Education and Jim Ray of the Department of Education were also most helpful.

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COVER NOTE:

The cover map makes clear the South Carolina metropolitan areas, especially those that overlap into Georgia—Augusta and North Carolina—Charlotte-Gastonia-Rock Hill (see MSA map page 4). Unlike many southern states, the capital is located almost in the middle of the state, which provides numerous advantages. We can also see that there are large areas not included in the metro areas, resulting in 40 percent of the population living in "non-metro" areas, mostly rural. Population "maps" can be very useful to people including planners, marketers—and educators looking for the human equivalent of rivers, forests and mountains.

SOUTH CAROLINA:
THE STATE AND ITS EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

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SOUTH CAROLINA: THE STATE AND ITS EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

Although every state has its unique aspects, the history and development of South Carolina has more claim to uniqueness than most. "The South" as an idea was virtually created in South Carolina. South Carolina was the first state to sign the Ordinance of Secession in 1860, the first firing at Fort Sumter, the most profitable slave-based economy, first in rice/indigo and then in cotton, all in the Charleston lowland swamps, and first in creating a "blueblood" aristocracy virtually identical to that in Boston. One of the best summaries of the state's history concludes that for over 250 years, preoccupation with race . . . "not only subordinated other political issues, but for most of the period stunted the growth of the state economically, culturally and intellectually and forced thousands of the most ambitious natives of the state to seek their fortunes elsewhere."* The major concern seemed less a long hatred of blacks and more of an interest in maintaining the aristocracy.

The contrast is best seen in the tense, military-style enrollment of James Meredith at the University of Mississippi and Governor Wallace's "They Shall Not Pass" speech, to the peaceful reception of Harvey Gantt when he became the first black student to enroll at Clemson University in 1963, thanks in part to the skillful efforts of then-Governor Ernest Hollings. Indeed, today South Carolina's leadership seems more interested in solving serious social and economic problems than it is in refighting the Civil War. The "action" today includes not only Charleston, still a unique and aristocratic city and Columbia, the state's banking, education and government center but also Piedmont, Greenville and Spartanburg, nestled next to Interstate 85, and the largest "suburban growth corridor" in the state, including new businesses, shopping centers and housing developments. Charleston has both the Spoleto Festival, celebrating the European heritage as well as the most diverse array of film, jazz and folk performances, and the St. Cecelia Society which guards Charleston's upper class traditions as carefully as it did in 1762.

As is true of many southern states, South Carolina lacked a large middle class for much of its history. Even today, the wealthy aristocrats and the poor are over-represented in the state while the middle income people (and jobs) are hard to find. In addition, blacks represent about 30 percent of the state's population, and 44 percent of its school-age youth, some of the highest rates in the south. (During the glory days of the rice-cotton economy—fueled by slaves—blacks were more than half the population of South Carolina, which explains some of the sustained reluctance to giving them the franchise.) Although it seems obvious today, no state can thrive and prosper if 40 percent plus of its citizens are poorly educated and live much of their lives in poverty. (If one adds white poverty to that, far more than half of South Carolina's citizens have been poor, which has been true for virtually the entire history of the state.)

As the 1980s began, it was clear that South Carolina needed to do something spectacular to deal with a constantly sagging economy, low educational levels, major health problems and high crime rates, plus one of the lowest life expectancy rates in the nation. More than any other state, it has opted for a strategy based on education as the centerpiece for comprehensive development, in the form of the Education Improvement Act (EIA) of 1984. The function of this report is not to evaluate the reforms proposed and implemented in South Carolina, it is too soon for such analysis. What this report can do is to provide the demographic context in which the reforms have taken place, which will allow for some comments about future opportunities.

SOUTH CAROLINA'S DEMOGRAPHY

To begin, we need to look at the basic demographic data provided by the United States Census Bureau. Some basic categories as well as ranks are presented in Table 1 on page 2.

*Quoted in N. Peirce and J. Hagstrom, *The Book of America*, 1984.

Table 1
SOUTH CAROLINA'S PROFILE AND STATE RANK

		Rank	
Total Population, 1989	3,512,000	25th	
Population Increase, 1980–89	+12.5%	16th	
Population Projection, 2000	3,906,000	24th	
Percent of the Population:			
Under Age 18, 1988	27.3%	13th	
Age 65 and over, 1988	10.9%	37th	
Black Adults, 1988	693,000	16th	
Hispanic Adults, 1988	15,000	36th	
Percent of the Population Living in Metro Areas, 1988	60.5%	31st	
Births (per 1,000 population), 1987	15.4	20th	
Percent of Births to:			
Unmarried Women, 1987	29.0%	6th	
Teenagers, 1987	16.6%	9th	
Infant Deaths (per 1,000 live births), 1987	12.7	2nd	
Life Expectancy Rate	71.8 years	49th	(LA. 50th)
Violent Crime Rate (per 100,000 population), 1988	741	8th	
Change in Crime Rate, 1987–88	+4.9%	6th	
Total Prisoners, 1988	13,745		
Percent of the Population Who Voted in 1988	38.9%	49th	
Social Security Recipients (as a percent of the population), 1988	14.9%	34th	
Food Stamp Recipients (as a percent of the population), 1988	7.3%	18th	
Change in Non-Agricultural Employment, 1980–88	+21.8%	14th	
Service Jobs (as a percent of all jobs), 1988	17.7%	48th	
Unionized Manufacturing Jobs (as a percent of all jobs), 1988	3.1%	49th	
Increase in Retail Sales, 1982–88	+43.5%	18th	
Motor Vehicle Deaths (per 100,000 population), 1987	31.7	2nd	
Miles of Travel per Road Mile, 1987	476	25th	
Energy (percent nuclear), 1987	61.0%	3rd	
Bank Deposits Per Capita, 1987	$3,989	50th	
Disposable Per Capita Income, 1988	$11,102	41st	
Change, 1980–88 (in 1982 dollars)	+19.0%	16th	
Per Capita Expenditure, State and Local governments, 1987	$2,121	42nd	

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1990* and *CENDATA*, the on-line data base maintained by the U.S. Bureau of the Census.

What one sees from this forest of numbers is a state that since 1980 has made a strenuous and usually successful effort to move from the bottom to the middle in terms of state ranks. Some things can be done relatively quickly (increase the number of new jobs) while other things seem to take a lot longer (reduce the crime rate).

The population is gradually increasing, due both to some net in-migration and a reasonable birth rate. (However, the spectacularly short life expectancy in the state needs serious analysis.) The state has a higher proportion of young people in its population than the nation as a whole, and many fewer older adults. A large percentage of citizens are black, much larger than most other southern states. (Forty-five percent of South Carolina's public school students are minority compared to 32 percent in North Carolina and 39 percent in Georgia.) Although metro populations generally have been growing, 40 percent of South Carolina's people live outside of the state's seven metropolitan areas. (One unfortunate thing about Census data is that we are told little about "non-metro" populations. Non-metro is definitely not the same as "rural.") Thus, there is little we can learn about this 40 percent of South Carolina's people from national data.

While the birth rate is middle range, **a VERY high percentage of children born in the state are born at risk; first, of dying in the first year of life; second, of having a teenage mother; third, of having unmarried parents.** Almost a third of South Carolina's children are born out-of-wedlock, a very high figure. (Although it is no secret, the U.S. rate of out-of-wedlock births is now 24.5 percent of all children born, a figure which should generate great concern but does not. It is sad but true that the abortion debate has left us with little energy and concern for the children who ARE born.) If you add to these numbers the very high number of auto fatalities as well as the high rate of violent crime, you have some of the reasons behind the very short life expectancy of South Carolinians. (And the state's 13,745 prisoners cost the taxpayers $274 million a year just to maintain—enough money to make a big difference in other urgent state spending priorities. The only known way to reduce the crime rate is to increase the educational level of a state's citizens, but it takes longer than most politicians can wait.)

Although many good things have happened to South Carolina in the eighties, it is still discouraging to realize that only 38.9 percent of the state's registered voters went to the polls in November, 1988. (Only Georgia was lower at 38.8 percent.) Until the people truly feel that it is THEIR government, participation will be low. It is yet unclear whether or not the educational reform effort has had this effect. It is clear that the more educated people are, the more they vote, and the older people are the more they vote. Given South Carolina's large population of non-voting youth, and large population of poorly educated adults, we may have some of the components of the low voter turnout.

Poverty and dependency are concentrated in the state's young population as well; compared to other states, a small percentage of citizens are on Social Security, while the state ranks much higher on food stamp recipients compared to other states. (Food stamp recipients tend to be young families.) It also seems that poverty rates are higher in the non-metro areas of the state—rural poverty remains the most tenacious kind of poverty, due to low educational levels, the lack of small business starts, job availability, access to needed social services and to what might be called media invisibility.

On the job front, South Carolina has made major progress in creating jobs, up 21.8 percent during 1980–88 and ranking 14th in the nation. However, the "high end" of the services—business services, financial services, computer services, insurance, real estate—are poorly represented in the state. While the state has developed some jobs in the service industry, they tend to be tourism-related (janitors, maids, waiters-waitresses, clerks) which does not move the average pay level up as one might wish. The state ranked eighth in the percentage of manufacturing jobs in 1986. Again, because only three percent of the state's jobs involved collective bargaining through union representation, average pay levels are lower than one might expect from the increased job numbers during the eighties. Ironically, low wage rates are an incentive to attract new businesses as well as a repellant to new workers!

Although some of the fluctuations in the manufacturing economy are calming down in 1990, this is not true for textiles, machine tooling establishments and wood products, which will continue to have a rollercoaster ride in the 1990s, and the South Carolina economy will be along for the ride. Since Governor Hollings, the strategy has been to entice EXISTING industries to relocate in South Carolina—low wages, right to work, and tax abatements were all successfully used in this strategy. What is missing from the strategy is the incubation of *locally developed* businesses and jobs that have the capacity to expand and move people into middle-income status. Educational improvements now underway should make this strategy more viable in the 1990s.

In some ways, the best economic news is the increase in retail sales during 1982–88, up 43.5 percent and ranking 18th in the nation. (That's 18th in *increase*, not in sales.) The reason is obvious—disposable per capita income went up 19 percent from 1980–88, ranking 16th in the nation in *increase*. (However, in actual per capita income, the state ranked 41st in 1988, meaning that the efforts have gotten South Carolina comfortably off the bottom but not yet at the middle in terms of per capita income.) The irony here is that people are buying, not SAVING—the state is 50th in bank deposits per person. Over the long pull, this very low savings rate will act as a drag on many other reform efforts funded through the investment of savings by banks and other lending institutions. By

1987, state and local government per capita expenditures ranked 42nd, up from 44th in 1986. Increased personal savings could well increase the efficiency of this government investment in the future, as well as the stability of family, local and state economies. Personal savings is a form of venture capital.

Two other issues need brief discussion. The first is the state's long love affair with anything nuclear, starting with the AEC Savannah River nuclear plant in Aiken and Barnwell counties in 1950, and extending during the following decades. At one time South Carolina was the dump for 85 percent of the nation's nuclear waste, and plutonium and tritium are still reprocessed in South Carolina. In 1987, 61 percent of the state's energy production was nuclear, ranking third. Even with former Governor Riley's courageous decision after Three Mile Island to reverse this addiction to things nuclear, there are still many problems remaining. On the other hand, it was a major source of much-needed federal money. (The only competition was the amazing ability of the late Mendel Rivers as Chairman of the House Armed Services Committee to bring military installations into his native Charleston.) While progress has been made, the state's nuclear dependency is still far too high.

The second area of concern is the extraordinarily high rate of motor vehicle deaths in the state, ranking 2nd in 1987 (and 4th in 1986) even though the state ranked 25th in miles of travel per mile of road in 1987. Having driven through much of South Carolina, the roads do not seem to be especially hazardous in terms of hairpin turns, lack of shoulders, etc. Nor is the weather a good explanation. The rest of the vehicular profile looks fairly normal, except for vehicle miles per licensed driver, where South Carolina ranked 9th (California, amusingly enough, ranked 24th in the same year, 1986. Number one was, of course, Wyoming.) Every driver in South Carolina drives a LOT of miles every day. But they do not speed—an earlier study shows the state 40th in people driving over the speed limit. Every state knows the number of speeders from airplane and helicopter surveys, even if no one knows your name or license number. Can there be that many drunk drivers in the state? The data are very shaggy on that point. But the state has more *poorly educated* drivers than any other state, as the following paragraph will explain.

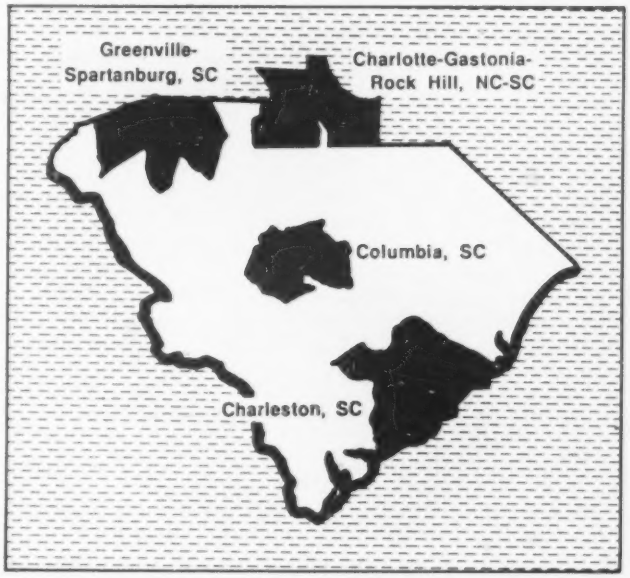
The very low life expectancy rate in South Carolina is a combination of things, including the high rate of motor vehicle deaths, the large number of infants who do not survive the first year of life, as well as medical care which is heavily used but not well distributed to the non-urban areas where 40 percent of the people live. The high rate of accidental death in addition to motor vehicles has to do with the fact that the state was number one in adults with less than eight years of elementary school education in 1980--unable to read the labels on household products containing dangerous materials, highway signs, etc. Cancer and heart death rates are not unusually high, suggesting that the air and water are not killing people, and suicide rates also are fairly low. Odd as it may sound, EDUCATION may be the best route to increasing life expectancy in South Carolina, as ignorance is the key cause of short life spans in the state. "Graduate from high school so that you'll live longer" sounds peculiar, but is fully supported by the facts for this state.

EDUCATION may be the best route to increasing life expectancy in South Carolina, as ignorance is the key cause of short life spans in the state.

SOUTH CAROLINA'S METROPOLITAN AREAS

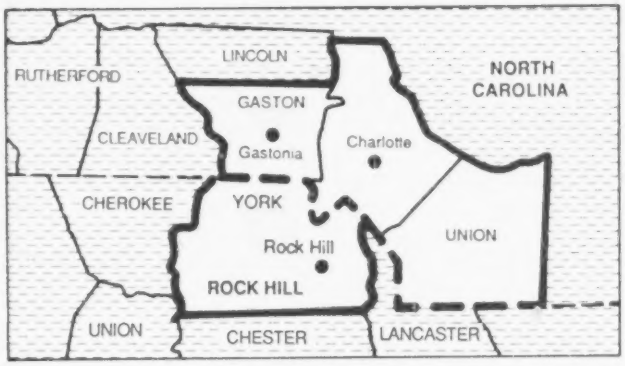
Before looking at education, a brief look needs to be taken at South Carolina's metropolitan areas. If we want to limit our view to those places defined by the government as MSAs (Metropolitan Statistical Areas), there are seven, but we will limit ourselves to four: Charlotte, Columbia, Greenville-Spartanburg, and Charleston (see map below).

Four Most Important MSAs in South Carolina



Charlotte is known as the Charlotte-Gastonia-Rock Hill NC-SC MSA. Of its seven counties, only York is located in South Carolina. Although South Carolinians usually neglect this metro area in their planning, it is a strategic error, as we shall see. (Aiken County is a part of the Augusta MSA but seems to have less potential for influencing South Carolina.) Because metro areas are where growth, money and people are increasingly concentrated, more analysis is done of these places than any others. Let's look briefly at the four most important MSAs in South Carolina.

Charlotte-Gastonia-Rock Hill, NC-SC



This is a moderately large metro of 1,127,700 people in 1989, ranking 42nd of the 100 largest metros in the nation. Of the 34 southern metropolitan statistical areas, it ranks 13th in size. The education of its 1989 work force of 655,000 is a key problem—it ranks 2nd of the 100 MSAs in adults without a high school diploma. (Even among the 34 southern MSAs it ranks second.) One of the major dampers on economic development recently was Hurricane Hugo—a major blow to Charlotte, directly in its path, and particularly to York County, which suffered over $22 million in damages. Because disaster money has been slow to arrive from the federal government as well as private insurance companies, future growth in this metro area may be altered.

Charlotte is important to South Carolina because of its attempts to shed its dependence on the ailing textile and apparel industries and move into the "high end" of the services by increasing business and financial services and attracting corporate headquarters. Charlotte has done very well in these areas. (Chief competitors are Atlanta and the Raleigh-Durham area.) Both NCNB and First Union Corporation, the largest financial institutions in North Carolina, are located there. Because the super-regional banking compact allows these institutions to expand OUTSIDE North Carolina, its implications for South Carolina's development are major.

In addition, its location, excellent highway, railway, the newly established inland port facility and air transport systems suggest major growth in trade and distribution services. Because discretionary incomes are fairly high, retail and consumer markets are increasing. Major problems are loss of jobs in textiles and apparel, as well as low educational levels in its work force. But growth of Charlotte will have significant impact on South Carolina's future, and a "southern strategy" needs to be developed between the governors of the two states.

Columbia, SC

One of the major advantages in being the state capital is the stability of the government work force! Almost one-quarter of the jobs in this two-county metro area are in government activity. Because governments require goods and services to be purchased, the number of jobs "upstream and downstream" of each government job is about three to one. In addition, Columbia is South Carolina's financial, insurance and business services center, many of these jobs providing services to government agencies.

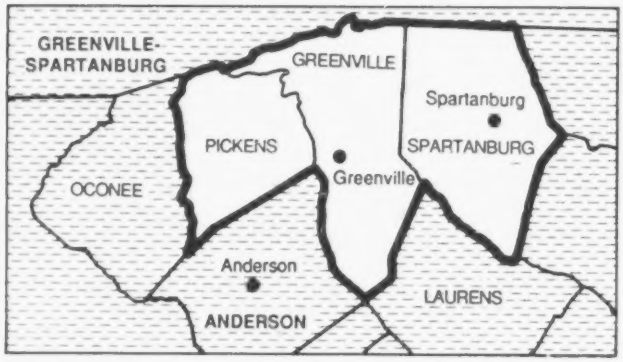
Its location in the middle of the state allows Columbia to be linked to north-south and east-west markets along Interstates 26, 20 and 77, providing one day access to 19 percent of the nation's urban markets. Because manufacturing has been a comparatively small part of Columbia's development, there is less to "undo" than in other parts of the state.

Its 455,000 residents in 1989 reflect a work force of 287,000 that is comparatively well educated—39 percent of its adult population have one or more years of college, ranking this metro 27th of the top 100 metros in the nation, and *6th* among the 34 southern MSAs. There is a large black population, about 29 percent, and a very small group of people over 65—only about 9 percent compared to 12 percent in the 100 MSAs.

Columbia's institutions of higher education enroll some 30,000 students, and the quality of life created by the University of South Carolina, the medical school, health and business services and access to cultural and recreational activity should allow Columbia to retain its educated citizens and, by having a large number of families with young children, increase its educational levels in the future. Although wage rates are not high, the cost of living is proportionately low. While growth rates have been slow compared to the city of Atlanta or the state of Florida, they have been steady. It may be that for the next decade, slow and steady growth will show some advantages over the "super-growth" MSAs that cannot keep up with themselves.

Greenville-Spartanburg, SC

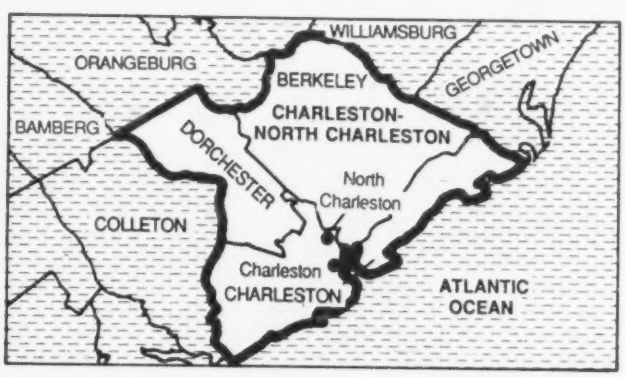
This metropolitan area with a 1989 population of 627,600 people has been "typical" in its dependence on textiles and apparel. However, due to some shrewd planning over the years, it has completed a successful transition to a diversified economy, mostly due to its ability to attract foreign and U.S. corporations. The appeal has



been to its high quality of life, resembling small town living in some ways, but with excellent access to recreation. Again, low wages are matched by low cost of living. Thus, retail markets here are high on necessities and lower on the (very profitable) luxury markets. Seventeen percent of the population is black (small for the state as a whole) while people over the age of 65 are a somewhat larger percentage here (11.8 percent) than in the state as a whole.

The work force has a classic pattern: *1st* of the 100 MSAs in the percentage of adults without a high school diploma (43 percent in 1989). With only 28 percent of adults having one or more years of college, the Greenville-Spartanburg area ranks 93rd of the 100 top MSAs, and 32nd of its 34 southern metro competitors. However, with the rapid increase in rubber, plastics, electronics and production machinery, there is something of a labor shortage in the MSA. Unemployment rates in 1989 touched 3.4 percent, the fourth lowest rate in the South. (Apparently, existing workers can be trained for the new manufacturing jobs fairly easily.) A larger problem may be the expansion of the "downstream" businesses: management and consulting, personnel, engineering, architecture, surveying, and other professions that go with economic growth. In fact, job growth in engineering, architecture and surveying has been over eight percent for the last three years. High paying business service jobs have also grown rapidly. It would be very bad if employers had to bring in workers from out of the state for these well-paying jobs if South Carolina could not "grow its own."

Charleston, SC



Although the "Queen of the South" to many, this city of about 68,000 has actually lost some population during the eighties. However, the MSA had reached 502,200 in 1987, up 16.7 percent from its 1980 total of 430,346. The increases have been largely in Berkeley and Dorchester counties, as well as Charleston County outside the city. Rich in history, Charleston is a major center for commercial shipping and has had a thriving tourism economy for many decades.

Unlike many areas in South Carolina, Charleston has a high rating on health care, ranking 41st of the top 100 MSAs on doctors per 100,000 population. Even in this cultured CITY, the METRO has only 15 percent of its adults who have one or more years of college. While it ranks 51st in *increase* in per capita income, it ranks 210th in per capita income! Only about 19,000 workers are engaged in manufacturing, a true indication of the great differences between lowland and upland areas of the state. Although one thinks of Charleston (the city) as a charming place to retire, the MSA ranks 247th in Social Security recipients. On the other hand, the MSA ranks 35th in the number of persons with incomes below the poverty line.

Charleston is one place in the state where retail sales look good. It ranks 40th in percent change in retail sales (up 70 percent from 1980–87) but only 228th in *dollars* of retail sales per capita, the old story of percentage gain but real number pain. Charleston's future will lie less with the lovely city, almost an anachronism given the fact that the city's population is only about 13 percent of the total MSA. The variation will be in Berkeley and Dorchester counties, with a higher population growth rate from 1980–87 than any other counties in the state, as well as the 230,000 people who live in the county of Charleston but not in the city.

Summary

Given the income levels in the state's MSAs, it is clear that rural poverty in the state's non-metro areas is a major issue in economic development. Because businesses are concentrated in MSAs, business support for the Education Improvement Act of 1984 will stress the metro area focus. Although most people in non-metro areas in South Carolina are working, they are working at very low-wage jobs.

One hundred years ago, the booming part of South Carolina would be the lowlands. Today, it would seem to be the Midlands-Piedmont areas, as the textile and apparel industries are supplemented by the growth areas of business and financial services, adding greatly to the middle class populations in those areas.

SOUTH CAROLINA'S EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

Now that we have a sense of the demographic context of the state, we can narrow our focus to the educational system itself. While the schools will reflect most of the demographic realities we have already described, they also have been the major instrument for the state's bootstrap operation during the eighties. Let's start with some basic data about the system as shown in Tables 2 and 3 on page 8.

The numbers paint a very interesting picture. First, there is a small "Baby Boomlet" in South Carolina, now working its way through elementary school, as seen in the opening enrollment figures. However, after the year 2000, youth populations in the state (and in the nation) decline, as seen in Table 3. The minority percentage in South Carolina remains almost constant, while the nation's minority youth move from 30 percent in 1990 to 38 percent in 2010. (There is little in-migration of blacks or other minorities into the state, and a static birth rate of the mostly black minority population, and little immigration from other nations to increase minority youth percentages.) If youth decline, as is the case in South Carolina and the nation, while the total population of state and nation are increasing, the inevitable result is a rapid aging of the population, with youth in short supply except for the brief "Boomlet" period.

South Carolina is one of a small number of states that actually increased the percentage of local tax contributions to education during the 1980s, while state and federal percentages declined. This should encourage more local participation in educational questions. In addition, teacher salaries and per pupil expenditures both went up during the eighties, improving the state's ranking in these two areas considerably. But the biggest and most impressive gain was in one of the better "level of effort" indicators—per pupil expenditures as a percent of per capita income. In a brief six-year period, South Carolina moved from 37th to 17th! (Note that the NUMBER of dollars per student is still small, but given the state's total number of dollars for ALL purposes, the level of effort in education is truly excellent.) In addition, the student-teacher ratio became more favorable, from 19 to 17, due partly to some enrollment declines early in the decade. However, note that the student-ADULT ratio is nine to one, meaning that for every teacher in South Carolina, there is about one non-teaching adult on the payroll.

On the percent of high school graduates who have taken Advanced Placement (AP) courses, the state moved from 17th to 6th in the nation, suggesting that the "high end" of secondary school graduates is good indeed. But until 1984, students could just take the courses without taking the (difficult) exams. The good news is that there was an increase in AP students earning college placement-credit from 1984 to 1989, and that the percentage of students scoring three or better on these difficult tests is among the highest in the nation. The bad news is that the average SAT score is on the bottom of the 22 states that use the test, and those that score over 600 (high) on either the verbal or math sections was the lowest of the 22 states using the SAT test in 1988.

The true irony here is that SAT scores IMPROVED by 48 points in South Carolina, making it FIRST in improvement of the 22 states, while the mean score itself had barely moved off the bottom (21st in 1989, 22nd in 1990). The South Carolina average SAT score in 1988 was 838 while the 22 state average was 906! It is very hard to win playing catch-up if you start at the back of the pack.

Part of the difficulty is the high percentage of students who are below the poverty line—8th highest in the nation. It is hard to imagine a strategy that would change this figure very rapidly. As a result, the improvement in the graduation rate was minimal in the state—youth poverty is always associated with high rates of school dropout. Although real progress has been made in the eighties in the expansion of the black middle class, there is still a great deal of black poverty in both the rural and the metro areas of South Carolina, and black students are 44 percent of the state's total public school enrollment. It's hard to imagine how South Carolina can improve without significant improvement in the lot of the state's black citizens. No one could fault the efforts being made, but the reduction of youth poverty proceeds at an agonizingly slow pace.

In looking at the data from the National Assessment of Educational Progress, scores for black students have gained consistently during the decade, but the gap remains very wide indeed. It is important to understand that when we compare scores of students from wealthy backgrounds in any group with students from poor backgrounds of that same group, students from wealthy backgrounds always do better. In predicting school achievement, class (socioeconomic status) is a better predictor than race, as Figure 1 on page 9 illustrates.

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Thus, in interpreting performance data in South Carolina, we must assume that if more black families were able to move into the middle class, the educational attainment of their children would rise. (Recent research indicates that the best single predictor of success in college is whether or not the parents were college graduates. It is a better predictor than high school grades or SAT scores.)

The Education Improvement Act of 1984

The comprehensiveness of this major legislation is most unusual. The strategy of the Education Improvement Act (EIA) included separate efforts to improve student performance directly, to improve teacher performance and morale as well as salary, to better prepare administrators and to update the skills of present administrators. Very specific testing programs were set to measure quality of performance, and (MOST unusual) a series of incentives were set to reward students, teachers, administrators and districts for superior performance. In addition, a series of indicators were established to see whether performance was on track, and how people felt about what was going on. Although this report is not intended as a comprehensive assessment of the Act, some comments may be useful, given the author's involvement in education reform efforts.

Table 2
SOUTH CAROLINA'S EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

	1983–84		1988–89	
Public School Enrollment:				
Elementary	420,000		438,600	
Secondary	180,800		176,900	
Total Students	600,800		615,500	
School Funds:				
Federal	12.0%		8.0%	
State	59.3%		54.5%	
Local	28.6%		37.5%	
		Rank		Rank
Average Teacher Salary	$17,500	45th	$25,060	34th
Per Pupil Expenditures	$ 2,431	44th	$ 3,465	41th
Expenditures (as percent of per capita income)	21.9%	37th	27.0%	17th
	1982		1989	
Student-Teacher Ratio	19.0 to 1	33rd	17.2 to 1	30th
Graduation Rate	63.8%	42nd	64.6% (1988)	45th
			66.9% (1989)	40th
Schools Offering Advanced Placement (as a percent of all schools)	26.9%	22nd	65.5%	5th
Percent Seniors Taking AP	5.1%	17th	17.5%	6th
Percent Scoring Three and Higher on AP			12.8% (1988)	8th
			13.1% (1989)	7th
SAT Score	790	(22nd of 22 States)	838	(21st of 22 States)
Minority Students (as a percent of all students), 1987	45.0%	7th		
Poverty Students (as a percent of all students), 1980	20.7%	8th		
Handicapped Students (as a percent of all students), 1988	12.2%	14th		

Source: State ranks are taken from the U.S. Department of Education's *State Education Performance Chart*, May 1990. Other data are from National School Boards Association, *Education Vital Signs, 1989*.

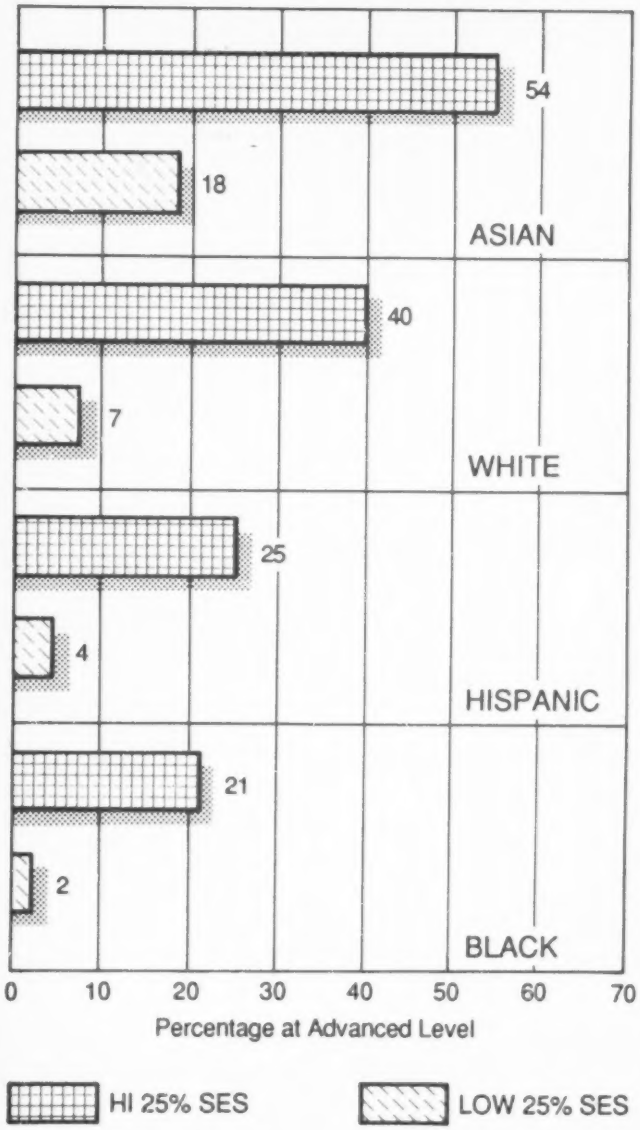
Table 3
CHILDREN IN SOUTH CAROLINA AND THE UNITED STATES

	1990	2000	2010
Number of Children Age 0–18 Years, South Carolina	946,000	968,000	931,000
Percent Minority	39.9%	39.6%	40.1%
Total South Carolina Population	3,549,000	3,906,000	4,205,000
Total Children Age 0–18 Years, United States	64,031,000	65,717,000	62,644,000
Percent Minority	30.7%	34.0%	38.2%
Total U.S. Population	249,891,000	267,747,000	282,055,000

Source: *American Demographics*, May 1989.

Figure 1

Percentage of Eighth Graders In Low and High Socio-economic Groups Who Are Proficient In Advanced Mathematics, by Race and Ethnicity, 1988



Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, *National Education Longitudinal Study of 1988, A Profile of the American Eighth Grader.*

After only five years of operation (a blink of an eye in educational time), a thorough appraisal showed that the program had achieved or exceeded its objectives in almost every area. Particularly encouraging were the student test results on minimum basic skills standards, CTBS test score gains, gains on the SAT. (Only student absences per day and high school graduation rate improvements fell short of the goal.) More students are taking challenging college preparatory courses, more students are passing the exit exam required for high school graduation (now up to 94 percent) and increases in Advanced Placement we have already discussed.

While these test gains are cause for celebration, there is another achievement which may be even more important in the long run—SOUTH CAROLINA'S TEACHERS ARE SOLIDLY BEHIND THE REFORMS. In most other states, education reform has come from the governor's office and has been driven straight down to the individual classroom, with little chance for the individual teacher or administrator to "buy in" to the program. It is in the classroom where the "educational rubber" meets the "educational road," and in many reform efforts, the classroom is the one place untouched. One gets the impression that in South Carolina, classrooms and schools are BEHAVING differently as a result of the implementation of the Act. This is a most unusual achievement.

It also suggests that the NEXT set of goals, for the year 2000—cut the dropout rate in half, increase college attendance and workplace-ready skills, increase readiness for first grade and develop greater problem solving and creative thinking skills—could be achieved, because the teachers and administrators who are the only ones who can accomplish them are on deck and ready to go. This is probably the most skillfully implemented state-based program in the nation, but it is only half complete. Until the high school graduation rates go up (increased access to good jobs for a larger share of South Carolina's youth and increased college attendance rates, both adding to the state's future middle class) the reforms that have been accomplished will have little long term effect. Fortunately, with teachers, administrators, as well as the business leadership of the state behind the educational reform effort, it would appear that the goals for 2000 can (indeed MUST) be achieved.

Higher Education In South Carolina

The lack of a diversified economy during this century has led the state away from the development of a comprehensive system of higher education. But during the last two decades, the number of public four-year institutions doubled to twelve, while community colleges had reached a total of 21. Many institutions had developed the practice of going directly to key members of the General Assembly for funds, a tactic not unknown in other states but brought to a fine art in the south.

Under former Governor Riley, South Carolina dug into the issue of school reform as few other states have. As a result, during the 1984–88 period, higher education in the Palmetto State suffered a decline in percentage of state funds for higher education. However, in 1988 the state passed the "Cutting Edge" initiative, designed to support new research efforts, provide endowed professorships and increase the power of the Commission on Higher Education in the areas of academic policy and institutional budgetary approval. While institutions seemed pleased with the new package, it has been hard for some to give up the effective practice of going directly to their friends in the legislature for money and submit their requests to the Commission like everybody else.

The resignation of the president of the University of South Carolina in May 1990 (under questionable circumstances) did not help higher education during this crucial

time. At this writing no one can be sure what impact this event will have on the future of higher education, but the timing, right on the heels of the "Cutting Edge" initiative, could hardly be worse. At this time, two crucial tasks are the enhancement of relations between public and private institutions in the state, and the increase in enrollment of black students. Table 4 shows some of the higher education numbers.

This picture shows a state system which is diverse but not large enough to cover the range of educational needs in the state. When (not if) the second phase of the EIA is in place, an increasing pool of well-trained high school graduates will be seeking admission to South Carolina's institutions of higher education. The system will clearly need expansion in places and programs. There are enough untenured faculty positions to guarantee some flexibility in that department (see Table 5). A 21 percent minority enrollment would be high for many states, but with a 45 percent minority youth enrollment in the state, it is clearly not enough. Women faculty members are a little better represented in South Carolina than in the nation as a whole. (Another source suggests that the percentage of minority *faculty* is low, but comparisons are hard to develop well.)

There are a number of exciting things going on in the state. The largest conference focussing on the freshman year is held at the University of South Carolina at Columbia, so popular that it is also put on at sites around the nation. Of the 2,000 or so business schools in America, only seven have developed an internationally-oriented MBA program, requiring foreign language experience as well as some experience working in a foreign country. They are Penn., Duke, NYU, Michigan State, Georgetown, Virginia *and* the University of South Carolina. Programs like these two do help to put the state on the higher education map.

One hopes that legislators and governors in this state will see that their educational system is one whole unit, from pre-school to graduate school. (Texas seems to think that it can run a world-class flagship university and not worry about anything that feeds into it. Good luck to them.) The Education Improvement Act is great stuff. So is the "Cutting Edge" legislation. If the state's leadership can keep a picture of the whole educational system in their heads, it may be that education can fulfill its promise in South Carolina to enrich the lives of each and every citizen.

Table 4
NUMBER OF HIGHER EDUCATION INSTITUTIONS BY TYPE AND STUDENT ENROLLMENT, 1988

	Number of Institutions		Student Enrollment
Public Four-Year Institutions	12		74,799
Public Two-Year Institutions	21		38,553
Private Four-Year Institutions	20		22,381
Private Two-Year Institutions	11		5,108
Total Institutions	64	Total Enrollment	140,841
Vocational Institutions	66		
Full-time Students (as a percent of all students)	68.5%		
Minority Students	21.3%		

Source: The Chronicle of Higher Education, *Almanac*, September 6, 1989.

Table 5
HIGHER EDUCATION FACULTY, 1988

Percent Women Faculty, Public Institutions	31.9%
Percent Women Faculty, Private Institutions	33.6%
Percent Tenured Faculty, Public Institutions	58.0%
Percent Tenured Faculty, Private Institutions	55.7%

Source: The Chronicle of Higher Education, *Almanac*, September 6, 1989.

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SOUTH CAROLINA: SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

"Halfway Home and a Long Way to Go" was business leader Bob Selman's apt description of South Carolina in 1990. He and his business colleagues were vital to the passage of the Education Improvement Act of 1984, and have stayed very much involved since then. The road the state has travelled since 1984 has been exceptional—teacher salaries have increased far more than the national average. Test scores are up. Administrators are better skilled. But so far, there is an irony in much of the improvement—for example, the state had the greatest *gain* in SAT scores from 1983–89 (up 48 points) but in 1990 the state's average SAT score of 838 was still the lowest of any of the 22 states using the SAT. In most economic measures, the state is clearly off the bottom—new jobs have been created at a rapid rate, per capita income has increased rapidly (even though the number of dollars is still low), and an estimated 96,000 people moved to South Carolina from 1980–1986, mostly well-educated people with a variety of job skills.

But underneath the improvements lie some of the most difficult demographic conditions to be found. If THEY don't change, the current progress will amount to little. The root problems are:

- Very high poverty rates, especially among children and 40 percent of the state's citizens who live in rural areas.
- Large numbers of children born at risk of dying as infants, of being raised by a teenage mother or an unmarried mother and susceptible to drugs, crime and unemployment.
- A poorly educated adult population unable to be role models.
- A job structure with a large number of low-pay and low skill jobs.

The stunning successes of the Education Improvement Act have not yet made much impact on these core problems. For that reason, "Target 2000" is not an option, it is a necessity. Special focus must be kept on the following goals:

1. **Major increases must be made in high school and college completion rates.** Over 80 percent of our (many) prisoners are high school dropouts. The illegal drug industry (for that is what it is) could not survive without a plentiful supply of high school dropouts, who are attracted to a "career" in drugs because they have no other choice. High school graduates get good jobs, stay out of jail, pay taxes, and raise successful children at a high rate of incidence. In addition, they don't kill themselves and others in traffic accidents and at home because they can READ the traffic signs on the road and the directions on the medicine bottles at home. In looking at our four root problems above, the best SINGLE answer is an increase in education, at all levels and for all ages. (About 200,000 adults in the state who are not high school graduates could pass a GED equivalency test, with enormous benefits to themselves and the state. And while businesses may be attracted to South Carolina by the low wage rates, they would be MORE attracted if a big increase in college graduates suggested a more sophisticated work force that would have to be paid well, increasing the state's ability to CREATE good new jobs.)

2. **The state's teachers cannot teach sick children. Health and education are natural partners in that if one succeeds, the other benefits. Housing, transportation, justice and social welfare are also part of the "team."** Dealing with our four root problems will require a coordinated approach of all social services at the local and state levels—after all, they all serve *the same clients!* In addition, the recent "Cutting Edge" initiatives for higher education should be seen as an opportunity, not a threat. If the legislature understands that education is a seamless web, pre-school to graduate school, and that failure anywhere in the web causes failures in other sectors, then ALL of education needs support just as local coalitions of education, health, social work and housing leaders can create local successes, as it is in individual communities that the rubber meets the road.

3. **During the next crucial decade in South Carolina, money and staff must be earmarked for those activities that will DIRECTLY improve high school and college graduation rates, especially for youth currently in poverty, regardless of race.** No one in South Carolina benefits from a young person's dropping out of high school, in fact, we can price the consequences—over $20,000 a year for a prisoner, up to $100,000 a year for a handicapped child whose handicap could have been prevented if the mother had taken a $30 physical exam during the first trimester of pregnancy, and $40,000 to get a child born to a crack-addicted mother ready for kindergarten. Prevention is cheap and effective, "cures" are expensive and ineffective, yet most of our money goes to prisons, unemployment benefits and clinics for teenage mothers. The best prevention program would be for communities in South Carolina to adopt the strategy now in use in Greeley, Colorado and Springfield, Missouri—to ELIMINATE school dropouts before the year 2000.